A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

WHAT ARMS LEVEL IS ESSENTIAL TO DEFENCE?

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NEW TIMES

LET THERE ALWAYS BE SUNSHINE!

NUCLEAR AGE ETHICS

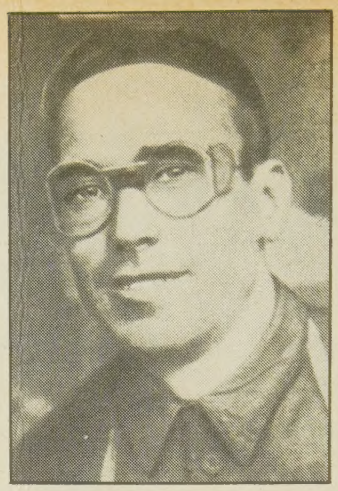
•

VICTOR ROZOV ON THE REFORM ON AND OFF THE STAGE

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

In 1935, the unheard-of rate of industrial growth set by the first five-year plan was sustained. Enormous numbers of people left their homes for the construction sites where giant industrial plants were going up. Millions of peasants trekked to the cities. People who, until recently, could neither read nor write, now passed around newspapers and books. News of labour achievements aroused universal admiration. The striking changes the country was undergoing from month to month and even from day to day fired people with enthusiasm. Workers were taken to building sites on overcrowded goods trains, and lived in improvized barracks; food was scarce—but nothing could damp their spirit.

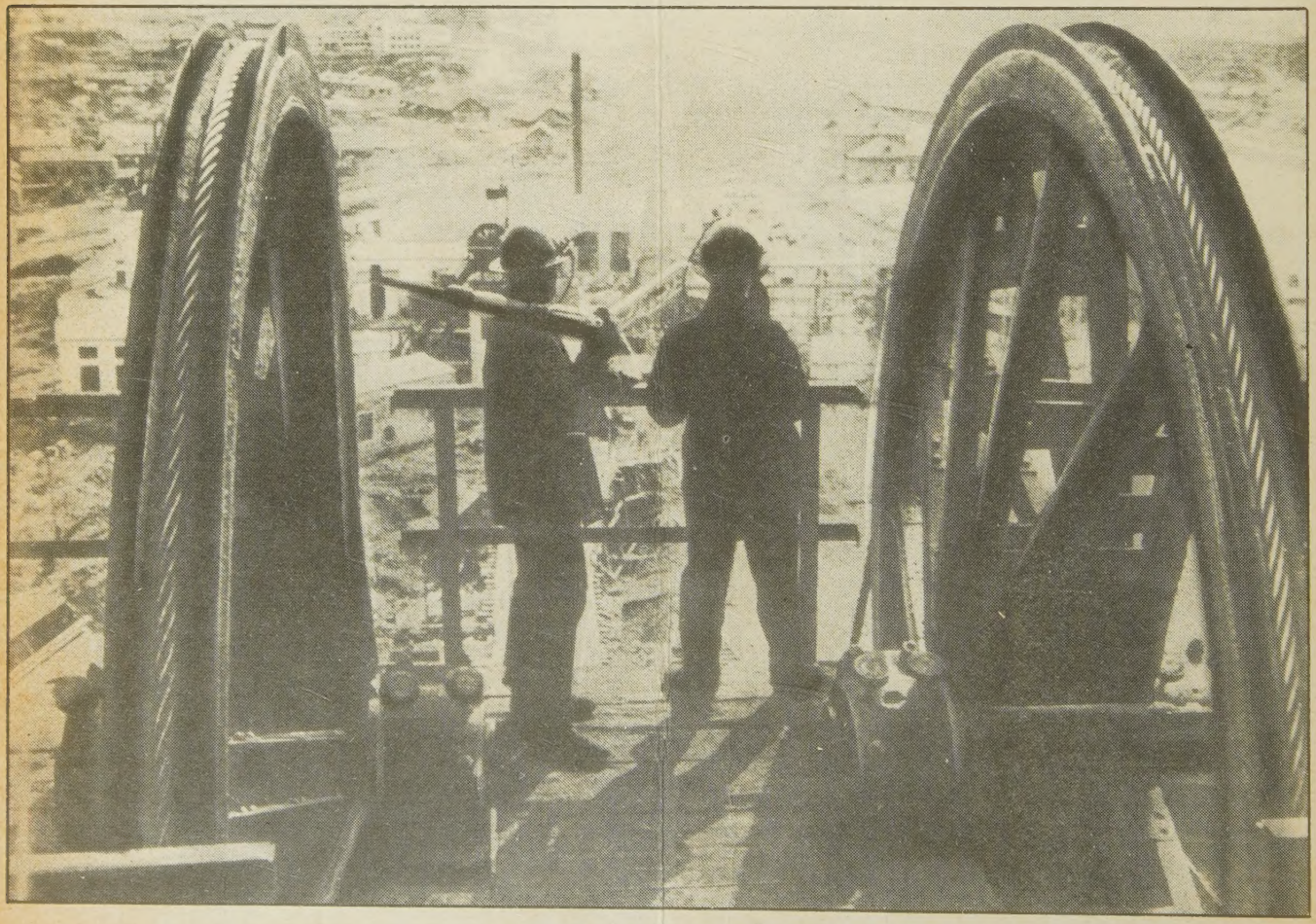


Alexei Stakhanov, Alexander Busygin, Nikita Izotov... Their feats of work efficiency made national headlines.

On the night of August 30-31, Alexei Stakhanov broke all work efficiency records. He cut 102 tons of coal in a six-hour shift, i.e., exceeded his daily output quota 14-fold! And, as often happened in the thirties, his name not only won national renown overnight but became symbolic of any outstanding achievement in any field.

The Stakhanovites of the period included Makar Mazai, the steelworker; weavers Maria and Yevdokiya Vinogradova; pneumatic hammer operator Alexander Busygin; miner Nikita Izotov; and milling-machine operator Ivan Gudov. At the time their names featured prominently on front pages. They emulated each other and the entire capitalist world. They challenged not only their own but American records as well, in the same way that the Red Army had stormed Perekop fifteen years before. They longed for technical innovations but these were in short supply, so the workers had only their brawn and brains and selfless dedication to depend upon.

Today we are looking for other stimuli, but whenever we want to praise a hard worker and a true patriot for creativity, stimulating technological progress and making every effort to ensure his country's prosperity, we say, he is working the Stakhanov way.



A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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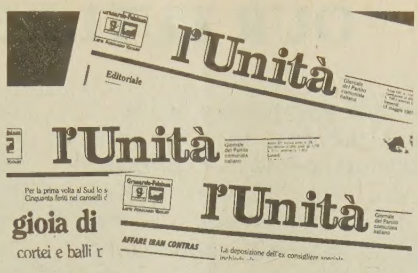
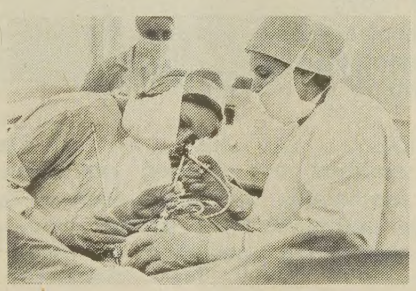


Mikhail Gorbachev's l'Unità interview. The background story.

The Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan.



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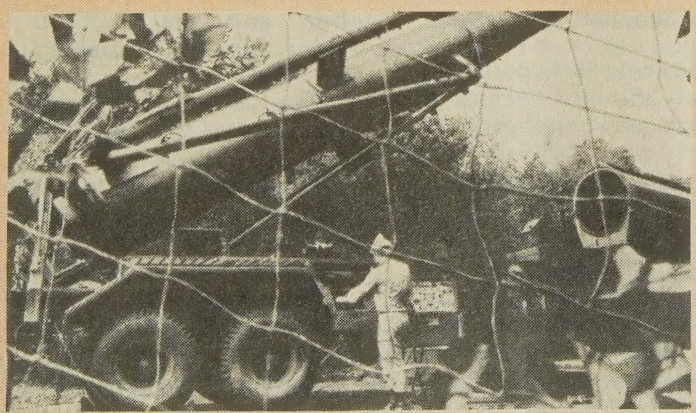

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Of all NATO member states the F.R.G. alone remains vague about the Soviet Euromissile proposals. What lies behind Bonn's reticence! Fear of disarmament, perhaps!

NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

I have been following with great interest the process of restructuring and acceleration currently under way in your country. I would like to report in greater detail on such issues as the reorganization of cost-accounting at your factories and plants, and the establishment of direct contacts between enterprises in our countries.

Matthias SCHINKE
Berlin, G.D.R.

Some time ago I had a chance to see two Soviet films. The theatre was completely full with even standing-room tickets sold out. Every seat was taken, even in the first row, three feet from the screen. Usually U.S. theatres sell no more than 25 per cent of the seats - this is the first time I have ever seen standing-room - only at a theatre! And the audience applauded both films. This complete sellout demonstrates that Americans are longing to learn more about you, that they hunger for more information.

Charles OBLER
Boston, U.S.

The article "Science and New Thinking" by Academician V.Goldansky (No. 18/87) hits home and is written in simple language. There is no doubt that it is also intended for young readers.

It is natural for young people to take what they see around them very close to heart. But, unfortunately, too many things have been decided for us recently. We have been alienated from the older generation. It is my hope that the serious changes taking place in our country will help overcome this alienation. This hope has been voiced from the rostrum of the 20th Congress of the YCL. I give my full support to the restructuring and would like to make my own real, if modest contribution.

Yuri GUBSKY, student
Kiev, U.S.S.R.

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

"OUR FUTURE JUDGES"

Children are the flowers of life....

Who was the first to utter this, now commonplace, phrase? Children are not "flowers," they are life itself, the seeds of the future, the world's only hope. For if the coming generations don't resolve the problems we adults have failed to cope with today, nobody will.

For many, bringing up children is the main aim in life. What does this mean?

Those who have families are always on the stage, as it were, with an exacting and imitative audience intently looking on and following the evolution of the play in real life. This is a special kind of audience, a stringent judge of what it sees. It may climb onto the stage at any time and intervene in the development of events if they fail to conform to its notions of good and evil.

These notions are formed not only by the family, of course, but by the environment as a whole.

Is this reality fair enough?

At a grim estimate, more than 240 million children aged under five are doomed to die of disease and undernourishment before the end of this millennium....

Children die in armed conflicts....

Children are the first victims of social injustices and cruelties.

The situation in South Africa is, perhaps, the worst. Schoolchildren take part in the anti-apartheid protest movement there, and the racists do not spare them: teenagers, some as little as eleven years of age, constitute a third of the 23,000 protesters arrested latterly. Special concentration camps for children have been set up there.

In the civilized West, countless under-age workers toil for long hours in unhealthy conditions, with the law-enforcement agencies turning a blind eye to their plight.

Adults bear a double responsibility - for themselves and for their offspring. For today and for tomorrow.

It is the duty of adults to their children to set them on their feet, indeed, simply to keep them alive! Human intelligence has created real monsters, weapons of mass destruction. But human intelligence also demands that the very possibility of the instant annihilation of mankind be ruled out. Too much is at stake: the fate of the generations to come, life itself on the planet.

Children themselves are becoming aware of the imminent danger and of the need for an all-out effort for peace. As a result, many children have joined hands with adult peace-makers; these young citizens meet with heads of state and send them messages imbued with concern.

Children mature earlier today, socially as well as physically. They remain children nevertheless, and parents, by definition, must protect them. This is something to remember, and not just on June 1, International Children's Day.

On the eve of that day I'd like to quote Maxim Gorky. "Children are our future judges," he wrote, "the future critics of our views and deeds; they have come into this world to do the great work of creating new modes of life." Does anyone want to be convicted by these judges? And isn't it the gravest sin to cut short the progress of the generations into the future - a better future, we believe?

Let children take up where adults leave off, correct their mistakes, and go further.

Our No.1 political objective

Excerpts from statements Mikhail Gorbachev made while on a visit in Romania (May 25-27, 1987)

The welcome in Bucharest.
TASS photo

We have never separated, nor shall we ever separate our own Soviet interests from the common interests of the community, the socialist world system, the international working-class movement or, in a broader context, from the welfare and progress of all of mankind.

●

I think relations between socialist states can and should be built on the following principles alone: full independence in determining the individual political course of each, and collective responsibility for the destiny of socialist world, the broad mutually beneficial exchange of experience and equal comradely cooperation.

●

We are far from believing that all our joint undertakings have always been fortunate and successful. But we can say one thing for certain: our main concern is and has been for peace. Preventing a nuclear catastrophe and saving mankind is our No. 1 political objective.

●

Today all countries are faced with the problem of how to avert the threat of war. But their answers differ. That of United States ruling circles and the leaders of a number of capitalist countries is security through deterrence, especially nuclear deterrence. Our approach differs in principle: security through advancement to a world without weapons and violence.

●

Today the question of the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe dominates the agenda. In their latest statements and talks with us certain statesmen from the NATO countries have said that the radical solution to this problem proposed by the Soviet Union is possible in principle. However, this was followed by a number of "buts." It was said that medium-range missiles could not be eliminated without the simultaneous settlement of the problem of operational-tactical missiles. When we agreed to eliminate that type of weapon, our Western partners were flustered and declared that they do not wish to remain unarmed in the face of the allegedly overwhelming superiority of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Then the condition was put forward that we renounce the 100 warheads that under the Reykjavik agreement were to be retained by the Soviet Union in Asia and by the United States. A few days ago, as you know, we declared that that too was not be excluded. But even since that all kinds of obstacles have been erected.

Well, at least it should now be clear to everyone who wants a nuclear world and who wants a non-nuclear one.

At this critical and extremely important time the peoples of the world are entitled to demand that this game of cat-and-mouse be stopped when it concerns such a serious issue as nuclear disarmament, and the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

●

No one doubts that the Balkan countries would feel much more confident and secure, if the idea of turning the area into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons were to be put into practice.

Proposals on this matter have come from Romania and Bulgaria. As far as we know, other countries also view them favourably. In this connection I would like to say that the Soviet Union is prepared to give the necessary guarantees on the non-deployment and non-use of nuclear and chemical weapons in this zone. I think we should go further and rid the Balkan peninsula of all foreign troops and military bases.

NUCLEAR AGE ETHICS

Reflections on the Delhi Declaration, its philosophy and meaning

ANATOLY KUTSENKOV

Where is mankind heading, what awaits it, what should be done to safeguard its future? The search for answers to these burning questions has never been as intensive as it is now.

I have just visited India with a group of Soviet scientists specializing in international relations, and have had a chance to find out more about our Indian colleagues' views on these questions. Our conversations there were mostly of a private nature so what I write now is not a summary of these conversations but rather my own ideas that grew out of them.

The greatly intensified mental activity worldwide and the globalization of civic consciousness reflect the indisputable fact that mankind is now in a state of crisis. The mountains of stockpiled weapons of mass destruction threaten to plunge it into a universal catastrophe at any moment.

Two approaches

Two principal directions stand out distinctly in the maze of ideas and concepts for extricating ourselves from the crisis set forth by scientists, politicians and public figures. In a sense they can be described as the traditional and the innovative ones.

The traditional approach proceeds from a dogma as old as civilization itself: if you want peace, prepare for war. After all, many people do believe that the more weapons are stockpiled, the more terrible and devastating they are, the more stable peace will be because common sense will not permit suicide. Hence the concepts of "deterrence," "balance of terror" and similar constructions, which only serve to escalate the arms race on a global scale.

The fallacy and danger of traditional thinking is that it does not resolve the fundamental problem: it does not remove the threat of the annihilation of human civilization. On the contrary, it increases the risk of a spontaneous outbreak of a world thermonuclear conflict. Moreover, by compelling countries and peoples to spend an ever greater proportion of their material and spiritual resources on the arms race, this line of thought actually indefinitely postpones the solution of other vitally important global problems: ecological, raw materials, social,etc. An aggravation of these problems is capable of leading mankind to catastrophe on its own, even without war. And it must be said with the deepest regret that exactly such an obsolete mentality prevails in the West's present policies.

The innovative, progressive trend of thought proceeds from the restructuring of the world on fundamentally new principles - disarmament, the categorical inadmissibility of war, and international cooperation.

A wholesome concept of comprehensive international security was set out by the 27th CPSU Congress. It views our planet as a single interdependent whole in which the security of any state cannot be based on force or the threat of force. Genuine security can only be mutual and universal.

The Soviet-American summit talks in Reykjavik have clearly shown that the Soviet programme for peace is not utopian, and that real agreements are quite attainable. Everything depends on the readiness of the United States and its allies to show common sense.

The Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World signified a new stage in the formulation of a constructive concept for banishing the threat of war. It was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi on November 27, 1986.

This is a remarkable document in many respects, first of all because it was jointly worked out by two peace-loving states representing different socio-political systems. It proceeds from the presumption of the unity of mankind and the inadmissibility of thermonuclear war. It upholds the idea of equal security for all based on peaceful coexistence and recognition of the right of every state to political and economic security. It organically links disarmament with development and the solution of the global problems confronting mankind.

Appeal to morality

One of the merits of the Delhi Declaration, as I see it, is that it has not only rational but also emotional and moral appeal. To quote Mikhail Gorbachev, it has put an end to "the alienation of politics from the universal norms of morality." It resolutely gives precedence to mankind's interests as a whole and the interests of each individual above all else. The second point of the Declaration says that "human life must be recognized as supreme." Point 7 demands that conditions must be guaranteed for the individual's harmonious development. Hence the logical conclusion that the principle of non-violence should be the mainstay of life in human society: "Philosophy and policy based on violence and intimidation, inequality and oppression, and discrimination on the basis of race, religion or colour, are immoral and impermissible."

Generally speaking, there is nothing new in the appeal to morality in our nuclear-missile age. But if moral principles have become integral to political thinking for the first time it is thanks to the Delhi Declaration.

A profound search for the meaning of life, the noble predestination of man, and the social purport of his thoughts and actions is particularly inherent in the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and India, the co-authors of the Declaration. Speaking of Russia, we must recall Leo Tolstoi's passionate preaching of moral perfection. Let us also recall Dostoyevsky's concept of the moral correlation between the aim and the means of attaining it.

Inherent in India's ancient and diverse culture, I would say, is the constant correlation of actions with moral principles, with responsibility to the present and future generations. The idea of refraining from harming all living things and concept of righteous living characterize the religious and ethical teachings of Brahmanism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, which are fundamental for Indians. In fact, the non-violence preached by Buddha, Mahavira and other great Indian thinkers was eleva-

Anatoly Kutsenkov, D.Sc.(Hist.), is the editor-in-chief of the magazine Narody Azii i Afriki (Peoples of Asia and Africa) and deputy chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

ted even to the level of a political doctrine by the acknowledged leader of the Indian national liberation movement, Mahatma Gandhi.

The Delhi Declaration singled out from the rich cultural and moral heritage of both nations the values that are particularly needed by the world today.

It is indisputable that the enrichment of the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free world with the moral approach will make it possible considerably to expand the extent of its impact on the masses, and on mass movements and organizations, as many of them are founded on moral or religious principles. The Declaration opens up for them the possibility of increasing many times over their contribution to the strengthening of what the Declaration itself calls a peace coalition.

Non-violence does not mean non-resistance. The right of peoples to a free choice of ways of development, the principles of peaceful coexistence which include non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, respect for their sovereignty and the inviolability of borders, the sanctity of human life - all these principles of the Delhi Declaration amount to something much more than the inadmissibility of violence. They thereby give peoples, states and individuals the moral right actively to resist violence and defend their interests.

Six months have passed since the signing of the Delhi Declaration. Discreet attempts are being made in the West to discredit its ten principles as a barren utopia out of touch with existing realities.

History as emergence from isolation

It is undeniable that the ideals and principles of the Delhi Declaration are still far from winning universal recognition and even more so from being implemented - there is so much violence in the world.Yet I am confident that the future belongs to the Delhi Declaration and its principles. The viability of progressive ideas should not be deduced from the reality they are called upon to change. It has always taken a more or less lengthy period of time for an idea to achieve universal currency. The viability of any idea should be determined by the extent to which it expresses the requirements of its time. Let us examine the Delhi Declaration from this angle.

The ultimate aim of the Delhi Declaration is to save mankind from the danger of destruction posed to it by the nuclear arms race, to channel the resources now spent on the manufacture of armaments towards combating poverty, hunger and disease, and preserving our natural habitat. The Delhi Declaration passionately appeals to the individual, whose creative genius should be brought out and fulfilled and not suppressed by intolerable living conditions or destroyed in the flames of thermonuclear war. Is this not in line with the most pressing tasks of our time?

Let us take another aspect - the connection between the principles of the Delhi Declaration and the realities of life as we live it, in particular the development of human civilization's material mainstays. The weapon systems of today, and even more so those that are now being developed in research institutes and laboratories, threaten to rise above Man, their creator. What was initially conceived as means of protecting man is now growing into an absolute threat to life. Thus, the "star wars" weapons will decide themselves when to act. But technology is soulless and morally neutral. Figuratively speaking, only man, having humanized himself, is capable of making it humane, that is, of depriving it of the possibility of killing mankind. So the emphasis in the Delhi Declaration on humane, moral values is by no means manifestation of utopianism. It is a logical result of the present stage in the development of productive forces, the material mainstays of mankind's existence.

In social terms, mankind's history can be presented as a continuous process of overcoming isolation - clan, tribal, national and state, as the constant expansion of the exchange of products of labour, technology, ideas and cultural values, as a process of forming a single family of mankind with common interests and values for all, and with a common destiny. Awareness of this unity has now grown particularly under the influence of the nuclear sword of Damocles that hangs over all of us. That is why the Delhi Declaration's appeal to mankind, to human values, is, as we see, also based on real processes and existing reality.

Last but not least, spiritual and humanist tendencies. Thousands of nations and ethnic groups with different national characters, religions and ways of life populate our planet. More than once these differences have served as a source of friction, mistrust, even hostility and fierce conflict. But something else is also true. All national cultures without exception have a single common denominator - humanism. Folklore and literature religious and philosophical systems are permeated by humanity and compassion, by dreams of happiness and justice, by a system of views and standards that recognizes the uniqueness of man and his right to life. True, the content of humanism was subject to change. At the dawn of history our forefathers regarded as valuable only the lives of fellow members of their own clans or tribes. If I may say so, the jurisdiction of humanism was comparatively narrow. With time it steadily expanded. And the value of each individual grew with the development of the concept of the human being, with the preeminence of homo sapiens. Today disregard for humanitarian traditions is fraught with countless calamities for the whole of mankind. And this is fully realized and expressed in the Delhi Declaration.

The idea of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world publicly proclaimed in the Delhi Declaration is not simply a logical result of the centuries-long progress of material and spiritual culture, the perfection of man's intellect and feelings, the development of the whole of mankind. It is an imperative, the most important condition that can guarantee mankind's survival. And, in this sense, the declaration signed in Delhi epitomizes the new thinking, offers a new philosophy and new principles of contact between individuals and nations, and serves as a standard-setting document of ever increasing importance. Of this I am confident.

Violence no dogma

This does not mean, of course, that the road to the assertion of the Delhi Declaration's principles is strewn with roses. For them to become a standard for international relations, all members of the international community and particularly the great powers, must radically change their mentality and reject in practice conventional dogmas. Moreover, it will be necessary to overcome the resistance of forces for which violence is not only a way of thinking but also a way of action to achieve definite aims. This, I believe, will take more than just persuasion. What is also necessary is the existence of a situation in the world in which violent methods are doomed to failure in advance. But this requires not only collective thinking but also the existence of certain mechanisms frustrating power politics. What will these mechanisms be and how soon will they be formed? These are by no means simple questions. But since there is no reasonable alternative to peace, there can be no doubt that such mechanisms are needed and that they will appear!

GREAT BRITAIN

Tories to stay on?

IN THE CURRENT BRITISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN THE CONTENDERS FOR OFFICE ARE THE RULING CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND THE OPPOSITION, COMPRISING THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE ALLIANCE OF LIBERALS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

This year's parliamentary elections are being held (as was also the case in 1983) a year before the expiry of the Thatcher cabinet's term of office. Voters will choose 650 members of the Commons, where the Conservatives, in power since 1979, have a majority of 141 seats.

Having held consultations with her ministers and paid the traditional visit to the Queen, the Tory leader has dissolved Parliament. General elections have been scheduled for June 11. Margaret Thatcher's decision appears to have been prompted by the results of the recent local elections in England and Wales, which brought the Conservatives landslide victories, as well as by a certain livening up of business activity in industry and the slowing down of inflation rates; although favourable, however, these are obviously seasonal developments.

All these assets have naturally found their reflection in the ruling party's pre-election manifesto. In her public speeches, the Prime Minister has boasted of "victories over socialism," meaning the Conservatives' denationalization drive, with about a third of the public sector handed over to millions of shareholders. Meanwhile, the elections have highlighted other consequences of the Tories' economic policy: over three million jobless, hundreds of thousands of "new poor" and homeless, unprecedented numbers of bankruptcies and chronic stagnation in a number of manufacturing industries. Many Britons are not happy either about their government's defence policy which favours strengthening the country's nuclear potential and closely following Washington's line.

The opposition parties have been quick to turn these factors to advantage. Labour leaders promise that if they are elected they will cut unemployment by a third within two years of coming to office and increase welfare spending. The Labour Party's defence policy provides for the renunciation of nuclear weapons while remaining in NATO, and for the withdrawal of American military bases from the country. Although it failed at the municipal elections, Labour is determined to give the Conservatives a good run for their money in the current campaign.

Incidentally, Kinnock's party has its opponents across the Atlantic as well. According to the newspaper the Sunday Telegraph, NATO has drawn up, and forwarded to President Reagan, a secret plan to topple the Cabinet in the event of Labour winning the election. What Washington most fears is Labour non-nuclear policy and the prospect of U.S. bases and missiles being withdrawn from the British Isles. The plan provides for a whole set of preventive measures designed to bring down the new British government even before it emerges from its post-victory euphoria.

Whether or not this plan actually exists is debatable - few take such "exposés" seriously in Britain. But one thing is certain: a vicious anti-Labour campaign launched at the height of the election campaign is bound to influence a proportion of the British electorate, alarmed as it is by endless "witch hunting."

The majority election system used in Britain gives the alliance almost no chance of coming to office on its own. It is therefore calling for the formation of a coalition government. In its manifesto, the alliance urges a reform of the legislative bodies and state machinery, broader civil rights and greater democracy.

Some British papers are saying that a Conservative victory is a foregone conclusion. However, sixty per cent of the electorate is opposed to the Tories. Incidentally, a MORI public opinion poll has revealed that if at least two per cent of Tory supporters turn their backs on the party, Conservatives will not win an overall majority, and if four per cent of voters desert them, Labour will form the next

---

To be consistent to the end it must be admitted that international peace, peace among nations can be enduring only if it is based on non-violence within individual countries. But it is an even more formidable task to exclude violence from the life of a specific society. For violence is a consequence of class, social contradictions which cannot be bypassed or abolished by any declaration. They existed in the past, exist today, and will continue to do so.They are at once a result of society's evolution, and the motive force of this evolution, the motive force of history, its locomotive.

In the fact that the Delhi Declaration was signed by a Communist, the leader of the world's biggest socialist country, some foreign commentators discerned what was little short of a departure from Marxism-Leninism or, still worse, a manifestation of duplicity. I believe I should dwell on this in greater detail.

First of all, we must specify the violence that is referred to in the Declaration. It refers to physical violence that threatens human life. Secondly, Marxism has never absolutized the role of physical violence. More than that, it has proceeded and proceeds to this day from the possibility of, and preference for, resolving social contradictions, even the most acute and even in periods of social revolution, by peaceful methods. For progressive liberation forces do not need physical violence because they have the support of the broadest strata of the people. Marx and Engels provided for the possibility of depriving capitalists of their property by buying it out. After the October Revolution, the young Soviet republic appealed to the erstwhile propertied classes in Russia more than once to join in the building of the new society, which could only benefit from their knowledge, expertise and contacts. But so far history has ordained things otherwise. These classes turned to arms, often with outside support, to resist the new forces and arrest social progress. And the revolutionary forces were compelled to counter this violence with their own revolutionary violence.

In the long-term, counterrevolutionary violence has demonstrated its historical futility because in the end the more advanced social systems replace the obsolete ones that fetter the development of productive forces. So if the outgoing classes display a sufficiently broad historical imagination and treat the striving of their peoples for change as an inevitability, physical violence can be avoided under the "coercion" of common sense. It is indisputable that such a development requires a high standard of political education and the existence of established democratic practices and procedures. Is this conceivable? I believe it is, because the new mentality generated by the vital necessity to preserve peace among nations will inevitably influence other spheres of life and human relations as well. At present, of course, this seems something of a dream. The world of today little resembles this ideal. But if mankind finds in itself the resolve to survive, this dream will eventually become a reality. Besides, there is quite simply no other way. ■

government. I, for one, would not venture to predict the outcome.

YURI KUDIMOV

JAPAN

Too obvious to be untrue

● PUBLIC OPINION POLLS ALWAYS REVEAL THAT THE MAJORITY OF JAPANESE FAVOUR ADHERING STRICTLY TO THE THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES PROCLAIMED BY THEIR GOVERNMENT, AND THAT ONLY A VERY FEW BELIEVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, ARE NOT FINDING THEIR WAY INTO THE COUNTRY.

The problem is all the more acute today, as Japanese papers are discussing Moscow's call to remove all nuclear weapons from the Asian continent and set up nuclear-free zones there. Meanwhile Japan is disturbed by fresh reports of violations of the three non-nuclear principles.

In its 16/87 issue New Times reported the sensational discovery made in Washington by a research team from the Japan Communist Party (JCP). As soon as the message sent in 1966 by the then U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk to Ambassador to Japan Edwin Reischauer, was made public, the Japanese government flatly denied the obvious fact of the existence of a "confidential" agreement allowing the dangerous transit. Yet the authenticity of the message is not in question.... Reischauer confirmed the existence of this confidential deal and even recalled specific instances he knew of when American warships with nuclear weapons on board had entered Japanese ports. Raymond Garthoff, a former State Department adviser, who had been involved in drafting Dean Rusk's message in 1966, noted that the agreement between Washington and Tokyo not only permitted the transit of nuclear weapons without preliminary consultation, but opened the way to their permanent deployment in Japanese territory. And Arthur Barber, then deputy assistant secretary for international security affairs (Department of Defence), maintained that copies of this agreement exist in the capitals of both countries.

The Japanese government, however, continues to deny everything. Any admission would involve loss of face. It could also lead to the fall of the government and the loss of votes for the Liberal Democratic Party.

The Pentagon's policy of neither confirming nor denying the existence of nuclear weapons at American bases or on board ships suits Tokyo perfectly. The standard reply to accusations that the government does not wish to ensure effective compliance with and checks of the ban on bringing nuclear weapons into the country is: "We proceed from the assumption that the U.S. respects our non-nuclear principles. If it approaches us with a request to bring in such weapons, this request will be turned down." But the Americans are hardly likely to ask for permission now, when they have never done so in the

Space bridge, my eye! This is the way to build bridges between nations and continents!

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

past. The Pentagon's policy of silence is in itself the result of insistent requests from the governments of those countries that do not wish to publicize the deployment of nuclear armaments on their soil. (This is clear from the report issued ten years ago by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.)

At the beginning of May representatives of the JCP discovered a new document - an album of photographs of the crew of the aircraft carrier Midway, which since 1973 had Yokosuka as its port of call. In the album there is a photograph of a special unit whose job it is to service "secret weapons." Retired Admiral Carroll, a former commander of the Midway, explained that secret weapons meant nuclear warheads, and the unit's job was to take charge of them, check them and fit them on to the carrier aircraft.

Logically, it is hard to believe that a nuclear aircraft carrier would dock at its port of call without its main offensive weapons - in this case nuclear. Since 1983, the Midway has, off and on, spent nearly three years in port. So it is not without reason that Communist MPs are now talking in parliament not only about the transit of nuclear weapons, but about their permanent deployment in Japan.

VLADIMIR OVSYANNIKOV
our own correspondent

Tokyo

PERSIAN GULF

A dangerous gamble

● THE RECENT TRAGIC INCIDENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF IN THE COURSE OF WHICH THE AMERICAN FRIGATE STARK WAS SUBJECT TO AN ATTACK FROM THE AIR RESULTING IN THE DEATH OF 37 MEMBERS OF ITS CREW HAS SERVED AS THE PRETEXT FOR A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION.

It has been announced that from now on American naval forces in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea will be kept in third degree alert and they have been ordered to destroy any aircraft or ships suspected of hostile intentions.

Speaking at the memorial service in Florida for the dead crew members of the Stark, President Reagan declared that the United States has the right to patrol Persian Gulf waters and recalled that it has been doing so since 1949, as "every American President since World War Two has understood the strategic impor-

" He has firm faith in his concept of peace..."

Italian journalists on their meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev

GERARDO CHIAROMONTE,
L'Unità Editor-in-Chief

Gorbachev is a very cordial and relaxed person. In this respect, he is also unlike his predecessors. He is very good at repartee.... The way Gorbachev answers questions, and his level of education, speak volumes for him. By virtue of his position, he is "compelled" to deal with economic matters, but has a penchant for philosophy and literature. A most knowledgeable man, he follows all world developments closely. In this context, some of his pronouncements reminded me of Enrico Berlinguer. He is just as aware of the interdependence and interconnection of world problems, and just as concerned about, not to say obsessed with, the idea of the likelihood of a global holocaust, which could come about by mistake; and he is as convinced that there will be no winners and that, consequently, reason must prevail. One feels that he has reflected on these problems for a long time. He discusses them with extraordinary sincerity. As I listened to him, I was convinced that his meeting with Reagan is a certainty. And I got the impression that they would succeed in reaching an agreement on medium-range missiles, at least.

He is a dedicated man; there is no doubt that he is not playing a part, but has firm faith in his concept of peace. He is convinced that renewal is the prime prerequisite for his country resuming its advance; he is inspired by a great sense of civic duty and humanism. In the interview, he told us he experienced "revolutionary moments." He recognizes the force of his ideas.

RENZO FOA,
L'Unità Deputy Editor-in-Chief

I shall begin from the first minutes of the talk we had in the Kremlin office of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He held up thirty type-written pages and remarked, in passing, that he had not answered all the questions.

"I've left something over for the next interview," he said.

Then he handed over the pages, across the desk, to Gerardo Chiaromonte, editor-in-chief of L'Unita, and checked whether the text had been translated into Italian. There was no translation, only the Russian. Therefore, the talk turned out to be largely improvised, but we had more than enough subjects for discussion.

The Soviet leader has granted few interviews over the past two years, tactfully distributing them among the newspapers and magazines of various countries - France, the U.S., India, Algeria and Czechoslovakia. L'Unita was the sixth periodical to ask him for an interview, if I am not mistaken, and the first Italian paper to do so.

We had a multitude of questions to put to him, and had drawn up a very long list of new ones in addition to the twenty-three we had handed over to him a few weeks before. The meeting was to have taken an hour....

Conversation proceeded at a fast pace, and Genrikh Smirnov, who sat at the table between Gorbachev and Chiaromonte, translated almost simultaneously. There were no pauses. The General Secretary of

tance of the region." And he went on to say: "Were a hostile power ever to dominate this strategic region and its resources, it would become a choke point for freedom, that of our allies and our own." The President's radio address to the nation was couched in much the same terms, seeking to justify an American military presence thousands of miles from American shores. And Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, who recently toured the Middle East, even went so far as to speak of the possibility of an American-Iranian war. True, White House spokesmen quickly distanced themselves from such statements and noted that Murphy's status did not entitle him to discuss such problems! However, they were forced to acknowledge that the Assistant Secretary of State's words sounded like a threat.

Nor did American generals miss the chance of playing a dangerous card. General John Piotrowski, who heads the Aerospace Defence Command of North America (NORAD) and Unified U.S. Space Command, hastened to suggest that elements of SDI be used! The general stated firmly that the time had come to deploy radar systems in space in order to keep the Persian Gulf and other flash points under constant observation. He has even estimated that such an observation system, comprising 12-15 radiolocation satellites, would come to a total of 6-10 billion dollars, only "insignificantly" more than it costs at present to maintain the AWACS planes, which are subsidized by American taxpayers to the tune of 5 billion dollars.

But while things haven't reached the SDI stage yet, the Pentagon is not losing any time. The aircraft carrier Constellation has been ordered to the Persian Gulf, and it carries 85 aircraft. Their orders are to provide cover from the air for American naval forces in the Persian Gulf. Apart from the badly damaged Stark, there are now six ships in the area, as against four a short while ago. It has also been announced that in the naval and ground manoeuvres Operation Bright Star scheduled for August in the Middle East, four (!) groups of American aircraft carriers will be taking part. The purpose of the manoeuvres is to prepare the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force for operations in the conditions obtaining in the Middle East.

It is said that if in a play the set includes a rifle hanging on the wall, at some point in the action that rifle must be fired. It is hard to believe that those responsible for the tragic events taking place today in the Persian Gulf are unaware of this. And if a shot is fired, it will be a shot into a powder keg on a sea of oil. The scale of the fire it could start is beyond imagining.

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

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the CPSU Central Committee answered every question at once. In his office, he behaved exactly as he did at very important public meetings - in a lively and spontaneous manner.

We had only one rather awkward moment in our 90-minute talk. When I asked him about his private life, his favourite authors and his hobbies, Gorbachev remarked that in his country it was not considered proper to discuss such matters, but answered my questions nevertheless.

The interview lasted for much longer than planned and finally drew to a close when the clock struck 12.30. Gorbachev was to have an official meeting with the Vietnamese leader Nguyen Van Linh. There was nothing for us but to shake hands and say goodbye.

We left the Kremlin taking with us the written answers to our questions, still unread, although we had waited a year for the interview. The 90-minute talk with Gorbachev gave us the material we wanted. We were impressed by the vital force that emanated from the man, and his infectious energy. It would be strange, of course, to expect less from a Gorbachev who has now been trying for two years to stir into motion a country like the U.S.S.R., whose mechanisms were gripped in the vice of conformism and red tape.

We had to wait another half hour until we finally made it to the flat where Giulietto Chiesa, L'Unitá's Moscow correspondent, lives. There three translators were waiting for us. What interested us most were his answers to questions about democracy and Czechoslovakia.

The answers are as follows. Concerning Czechoslovakia, the gist of the problem was put on one side. The answers about democracy, which filled many paragraphs, were impressive indeed. "Without democracy there is neither initiative, nor social justice," a translator read out. That was in sharp contrast with what we had been hearing for years. "Genuine democracy cannot harm socialism in any way." This is also a new concept, probably born of the discussion still going on in the U.S.S.R. "Democracy is a value in its own right."

We looked for an answer to the question about resistance to restructuring, which we had already discussed in the Kremlin, but which we wanted to find out as much about as we could. "It would be unrealistic, at the very least," the translator went on, "to believe that major revolutionary change of this order is proceeding smoothly. I should like to stress that this is a long and difficult process." Gorbachev was perfectly frank about it.

He confirmed the impression that many wrote and are still writing about. I had satisfied myself of that fifteen days earlier, when I first arrived in Moscow for a talk with Gorbachev, scheduled for May 8, and for an international meeting sponsored by the Pravda on the occasion of the paper's 75th anniversary, on May 5.

The meeting started on Sunday morning, but I missed the first day. I had to engage in a polemic with a German with whom I was unacquainted. In the evening I was told by a colleague of mine, a Pravda man, that I would have to polemicize more sharply and criticize even the Soviets themselves because restructuring was going too slowly. It was a curious episode, but it was also most indicative of the atmosphere now prevailing in Moscow.

Gorbachev was first approached about an interview by Emanuele Macaluso, a member of the ICP leadership, who met the new General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at Konstantin Chernenko's funeral, a year later Chiaromonte asked for the interview officially. The answer was that the request should be confirmed in a letter.

A few months later, word came that our request had been granted. We submitted the questions in writing. Preliminary consent was given in December 1986. We forwarded further questions. But in January 1987 the interview was postponed.

In April, a new signal came, and the meeting was scheduled for May 3, at the latest. Moscow even named the exact date - Friday, May 1. But on Tuesday the whole thing was postponed for a week, and then for another three days, till Monday. This time everything was arranged punctually. Having arrived from Rome on Thursday, in the afternoon, Chiaromonte and I met Anatoly Chernyayev, Assistant General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who said all was set for a talk to be held the following afternoon. At the appointed hour, however, Gorbachev was still busy arguing with Chirac over missiles in Europe.

Such was our complicated path to that complex interview.

BONN GOALKEEPERS

or the CDU/CSU fear for disarmament

NIKOLAI PORTUGALOV

The title of a novel by the Austrian writer Peter Handke - "The Goalkeeper's Fear of the Penalty Kick" - has become synonymous in West German political journalism with overpowering irrational fear. Today, the F.R.G.'s Liberal and left-wing papers are writing about the CDU/CSU's fear of disarmament. At first glance it does indeed seem irrational.

Stubbornness worthy of better cause

The approach of Bonn conservatives to the problems of European disarmament and, especially, to the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons deployed on the continent has nonplussed even the most experienced observers. Never before have we heard from official Bonn, or, more exactly, from the Federal Chancellor's Office and the information department, where the CDU/CSU rules the roost as the senior partner in the ruling coalition, such vague, wordy and ambiguous statements on nuclear disarmament in Europe, all this verbiage having the sole purpose of concealing the unequivocal message: "we do not want nuclear disarmament in Europe, let alone the 'double zero option,'" i.e., the removal of both medium-range missiles and operational tactical weapons (in Western terminology missiles with the range of between 500 and 1,000 km).

So far the CDU/CSU is not faced with the danger of such a sorry end, but its fear of disarmament already signals trouble for the conservatives. Their position today is not to be envied. To begin with, there is a majority for nuclear disarmament today not only in the population of the F.R.G. (as opinion polls have repeatedly shown), but also in the Bundestag: the opposition parties, the Social Democrats, and the Greens, leave no doubt on this score, while the Free Democrats, the junior party in the government coalition, unanimously support their Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, whose sympathies for the "double zero option" are evident, despite his natural loyalty to the coalition. A short while ago the CDU/CSU was taught a telling lesson: on the eve of the Land elections in Hamburg and Rhineland-Palatinate Chancellor Kohl came out with a proposal to link in a single package - despite the fact that time brooks no delay - the negotiations on all types of nuclear missiles in Europe. This is obviously an entirely different concept of the talks and one that could delay their conclusion indefinitely. Meanwhile the Soviet plan for removing all nuclear weapons from Europe remains unanswered.

What this cost him became obvious right away - at the elections in Hamburg and Rhineland-Palatinate the CDU suffered serious losses.

Political circles in the F.R.G. now take the view that a buildup of any class of nuclear missiles deployed in its territory - and that in essence is what all Bonn's amendments to plans to remove medium-range missiles boil down to - would place the CDU in opposition to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Nevertheless, the Bonn conservatives are insisting on their own views. And that is not all. The CDU's obstinacy has led to the F.R.G. being in virtually total isolation in NATO, as all its European members, with the exception of France, favour the "double zero option" for Europe. London recently announced its approval, albeit with certain stipulations. As for Paris, its support means nothing as no American missiles are deployed on French soil, nor are they expected to be. So Paris is merely washing its hands of the whole business and backing Bonn only in a whisper. But most important of all is the fact that the F.R.G., now ruled by such friends of the U.S.A. as the Christian Democrats, has probably for the first time in its history gone against its wishes in military matters, and that at a time when the White House at last seems ready jointly to seek a mutually acceptable compromise, one that for the first time in Europe's postwar history could lead to a concrete and major step forward on the road to nuclear disarmament. The CDU/CSU must have very substantial reasons for taking such a stand because, by putting obstacles in the way of such a process, it is undermining its own position as ruling party, and the stability of the Western alliance.

One could follow the conventional pattern and interpret the CDU/CSU line as an alliance of Bonn supporters of arms buildup, Pentagon hawks and top NATO officers, who are swallowing the "double zero option" as a child swallows a dose of castor oil. One can also see it as a sharing of roles with Washington, as many American conditions unacceptable to Moscow at the medium-range missile talks in Geneva closely resemble Bonn's plans for raising the number of shorter-range missiles. For instance, there are plans to convert Pershing 2 missiles into Pershing 1s, which have a shorter range (experts say the transformation, one way or another would take not more than 48 hours), or the plans to retain in Federal Germany cruise missiles with a longer range and replace their nuclear warheads with conventional ones, which is unverifiable. Yet, this would be too simple an explanation and an incomplete one, at that. After all, the Americans now believe that the aim of the talks is to achieve the double zero level in medium- and shorter-range missiles (unlike Bonn, which is not conducting the negotiations, and is opposed to their ultimate aim). No matter how the positions of the two sides might differ at one stage or another of the talks, what is important is their will to achieve a compromise. And, all the indications are that at the talks on medium-range missiles the will does exist.

The case against the "zero option"

Before trying to state it in outline, it is necessary to consider in greater detail the elements that make up the position of Bonn, or rather the CDU/CSU, not only on the question of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, but on the wider issue of nuclear armaments in Europe. It is common knowledge that the CDU/CSU agreed reluctantly to the elimination of medium-range missiles, under certain pressure from Washington after Moscow untied the Reykjavik package. But when in April Mikhail Gorbachev proposed in Prague to remove also short-range missiles from Europe, a storm broke out in the CDU/CSU. The "double zero option" was greeted with hostility. Using their dominating position in Bonn, the Christian Democrats, despite the unambiguous recommendations of Genscher, are still delaying a decision on the issue, making it clear that the proposal does not suit them. In other words, they are out of step with NATO.

An examination of all more or less reliable information leaks on the subject from Bonn prompts the conclusion that the CDU/CSU not only wants to retain and modernize its 72 Pershing 1As with a range of about 750 km (their nuclear warheads are kept under lock and key by the Americans on West German territory), but would like to add some more American missiles of the same class (the figure 40 is mentioned), probably the converted Pershing 2s, remodelled from the Pershing 1Bs as explained above. In other words, instead of removing a whole class of weapons (NATO at present has no other operational-tactical missiles in Europe apart from the Bonn's 72 Pershing 1As, the CDU/CSU suggests building up the Western arsenal of missiles of this class.

Finally, in the field of battlefield nuclear missiles (range up to 500 km) there are any number of plans for increasing their numbers. Should the Americans remove their nuclear warheads for the German Pershing 1As from the F.R.G. (which as "third country" weapons are not being discussed in Geneva), then the CDU is counting on being compensated with a large number of tactical missiles, probably a good hundred modernized Lance missiles with a range of up to 400 km for deployment both with American forces in the F.R.G. and with the Bundeswehr.

What arguments in favour of all this have been elaborated in the Federal Chancellor's Office and the West German Defence Ministry? I shall confine myself to the main ones:

- the weakening of the link with the U.S. should operational-tactical missiles be removed from Europe, i.e., the loss of American nuclear guarantees;

- if both sides remove their operational-tactical missiles from Europe, only tactical missiles will remain, and they can be used only in the territory of the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. That must not be allowed to happen;

- given the supposedly existing superiority of the Warsaw Treaty countries in tactical missiles, conventional weapons and armed forces as well as in chemical weapons, it is essential that NATO should have more tactical missiles. For the same reason, conventional and chemical weapons should be included in the European disarmament process;

- and finally, Soviet shorter-range missiles are small and mobile, and (the argument goes) easier to move about and hide from control. Therefore, they should be eliminated not only in Europe, but worldwide.

It is easy to see how baseless these arguments are even in terms of NATO strategy. The Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe were regarded as reliable U.S. nuclear guarantees only because of their ability to reach targets in Soviet territory. Now the United States and most NATO countries believe that it is possible to do without U.S. medium-range missiles. Why, then, should they need short-range weapons, that do not reach Soviet targets? Moreover, Washington has assured its allies that its guarantees and the mechanism of "flexible response" are ensured by the 4,600 nuclear warheads with which U.S. forward based forces in Europe and U.S. divisions on the continent are equipped.

Sabotaging an agreement

The demand to eliminate short-range missiles worldwide is a component of the U.S. position at the Geneva talks and has the support of all backers of the "double zero option" in NATO. The Soviet side takes a different view, stressing that its missiles in Asia are a counterbalance to the United States' considerable nuclear forces in the Asian-Pacific region. However, in this case both sides have the same aim - the desire to eliminate both medium- and short-range nuclear missiles worldwide. That is why a compromise on this issue can be expected in Geneva. Bonn, for its part, is using this issue to sabotage an agreement which in principle has the consent of the U.S. and its other allies. What is this if not a display of ill-will?

So even according to NATO criteria, Bonn's demands for more missiles are unjustified. And they look absolutely hypocritical when one takes into account the correctives in the Soviet position introduced after Reykjavik. The Soviet Union has taken into account the fact that not only political circles, but sufficiently wide sections of the general public in Western Europe are slow to become accustomed to the idea of a nuclear-free continent, are still influenced by the stereotype of "confrontation," and fear a deal between the superpowers at their expense. Moscow took steps to allay these fears. "The wish was expressed, especially by West European countries, that we agree to remove the elimination of medium-range missiles from the overall package, and we did this. Then anxiety was expressed over the inequality in shorter-range weapons on the European continent, we agreed to the total elimination of Soviet and American weapons of this class in Europe" (Mikhail Gorbachev. Interview for L'Unità).

To this should be added that the Soviet Union has agreed to disregard the British and French nuclear potentials in the strategic equation and has postponed discussions on U.S. forward-based systems, which for the greater part belong to the medium-range category.

Even that is not all: the propaganda cliché that the Warsaw Treaty countries have an "overwhelming superiority" in conventional armaments has apparently taken firm root in the subconscious of West Europeans and is accepted as an article of faith, and this despite the fact that statements by Western authorities refuting this myth could fill a whole library. In this case, too, the Soviet Union took West European concern into account. Moscow made it absolutely clear that as its strategic doctrine is based on the principle of reasonable

"Road traffic service calling. An oncoming car has been spotted on the Moscow-Washington stretch of the disarmament route..."

Drawing from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

...VERKEHRSDURCHSAGE: AUF DER ABRÜSTUNGSSTRECKE ZWISCHEN MOSKAU UND WASHINGTON KOMMT IHNEN EIN FAHRZEUG ENTGEGEN...
BONN 87
NEUE PERSHINS

sufficiency, it is prepared for a mutual reduction in those types of weapon, including offensive weapons, in which one side or the other has superiority, and seeks in this way to create a situation that precludes the possibility of a surprise attack (what in West Germany is known as structural inability to attack). The experienced politicians from the CDU/CSU who stand at the helm of government in the F.R.G. cannot fail to be aware of this and take note of it. So what's the matter? Why is Bonn forever insisting on additional armaments in one or other class of nuclear weapons deployed on West German soil?

Nuclear inferiority complex

The Russian poet Blok wrote: "We love... The salt of Gallic wit, so subtly shrewd, and the grim genius of the German nation." His words describe the situation only approximately. With French shrewd wit, perhaps not so subtle in this case, everything seems clear. Briefly, Paris sees the guarantee of its strategic independence in the existence of a West German nuclear advance post - in a Federal Germany stuffed with American nuclear weapons. That is not very farsighted and certainly egoistic, but there is a certain logic to this idea. Despite the friendship with Bonn, it is feared in Paris that the West Germans might not regard this as being in line with their national interests. Not for nothing does the French national press led by Le Monde begin to cluck anxiously whenever Bonn lets loose a canard of the Rapallo type. But in what direction the grim German genius is moving (in this case the political and strategic thinking of the CDU/CSU) requires investigation.

An analysis of the West German press and of the statements coming from certain Christian Democrat politicians, chiefly from the right wing of the CDU/CSU - the Steel Helmet faction whose members, according to the magazine Stern, never remove them, even in warm weather, gives cause for concern. The impression one gets is that the CDU/CSU has deliberately engaged in limited confrontation with Washington, as it wishes to display greater independence in matters of defence. A slogan that is now becoming fashionable in Christian Democratic circles is Europe as a third force between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., with Federal Germany, according to the Steel Helmet faction, as one of the main elements in this third force. Hence its desire to possess a nuclear deterrent in its territory - its own missiles and American warheads.

Contrary to a view widespread in the West, Soviet observers objectively regard the process of the political and, to a certain extent, military integration of the European Community as the logical outcome of its economic integration.

But it is an entirely different matter if Bonn or, to be more exact, the right wing in Bonn, lays claim to quasi-nuclear status within this framework and to "equal rights" with the European nuclear powers - Britain and France. That is not an exaggerated fear. If the CDU/CSU is already inclined to regard the American warheads for the Bundeswehr's Pershing 1A as its own, what will happen after the proposed rearmament with operational--tactical and battlefield missiles planned by the CDU/CSU? Do West German politicians of the Steel Helmet faction hope having equipped the Bundeswehr with Pershing 1Bs, modernized Lance and Patriot anti-aircraft missiles, to join the Euro-SDI and eventually obtain the armaments of the 21st century? And, thus, without formally abandoning their avowed rejection of nuclear weapons - attain the status of a great military power with territorial claims on its neighbours?

I foresee angry denials from the CDU/CSU camp, but the Soviet public has every reason to feel concerned. One only has to look at the document of the CDU/CSU faction with the demand to include the reunification of Germany in the agenda of the great powers' negotiations on disarmament. Be that as it may, the much publicized "predictability" of Bonn policy leaves a great deal to be desired.

For a "common European home"

The very concept of Europe as a "third force" can give rise to apprehension. What Europe? Only Western Europe, which is only part of the continent? It won't be able to pull its weight as a third force. It looks as if what certain West German leaders mean when talking of a third force is the so-called "free Europe" in which there is "self-determination for the Germans" and, of course, no place for either the German Democratic Republic or for a socialist system in other East European countries. Does the CDU/CSU see the construction of a common European home (a concept officially backed by Bonn) as demolishing the Eastern wing of the present building and replacing it with a copy of the Western wing? A hopeless idea, and a dangerous one. Does the happiness of Germans in the F.R.G. lie in such a plan?

No. We see a common European home, the foundations for which are being laid in the Helsinki process, as looking entirely different. First and foremost with respect to the security of its inhabitants. The removal at least from its central part of all nuclear weapons and other destabilizing types of purely offensive weapon, the creation of conditions that would rule out the possibility of a surprise attack, the adoption of far--reaching measures to foster trust. The recently announced Jaruzelski plan offers an excellent blueprint for work at the current stage.

Further construction and decoration of the common European home would open up fresh possibilities that I believe should gladden the hearts of West Germans. Continuing the comparison, I would say that each inhabitant of the house should be sole and absolute master in his own flat. As for the range and nature of the friendly ties between the individual flat owners, they should be prompted by their interests, including specific interests, and mutual regard for one another. One can well imagine that the owners of two sovereign and independent German flats, each living his own life style, would maintain close relations, all the more so as when both speak the same language it is easier to reach agreement. And then there would come a time when the obnoxious alien military presence would be removed from the flats in the central part of the house.

When Franz-Josef Strauss made his traditional political report on Ash Wednesday, he said: "If Gorbachev achieves his goal, then spring will come to Europe and all of mankind." Such a statement coming from Strauss was unexpected to say the least. And therefore it would be doubly interesting if the Bavarian Premier were to expound on his statement and describe how he pictures the happiness of the inhabitants of a common European home, German happiness included. We for our part have our own very definite picture of such happiness.

* * *

When this article was being written, reports coming in from Bonn said that the F.R.G.'s final position on the removal of longer- and shorter-range intermediate missiles in Europe had not been worked out in full and that there were indications that the federal government was leaning towards acceptance of the double zero option and removing its objections at the coming NATO session in Reykjavik on June 12. On June 4 Chancellor Kohl will again make a government statement on this issue in the Bundestag.We should like to hope that farsightedness, realism and good will will gain the upper hand and the F.R.G. will make its constructive contribution to the first major step forward on the road to nuclear disarmament in Europe. ■

Is long-awaited settlement in sight?

What are the real chances of a political settlement to the most protracted regional conflict?

ALEXANDER ZOTOV

Many experts on the Middle East have long had a sceptical attitude to prospects for a real settlement in the region. Neither the sporadic statements by leaders of the countries involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict about their readiness (under certain conditions) at once to sit down at the negotiating table, nor the various scenarios for settlement that have been put forward are perceived as convincing signs of better times ahead for peace in the region. They are far outweighed by the almost daily reports of Israeli air raids on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and the outrages perpetrated in Arab territories by occupying Israeli forces. Even so, I subscribe to the view that the struggle for a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict and convening an international conference to that end is entering a qualitatively new stage.

What are the new elements in the situation? First, the growing awareness of almost the entire international community that 40 years is a critical age for a regional conflict in the modern world, and that mankind no longer can reconcile itself to the chronically high level of tensions in the Middle East.

Conference is the only chance

Virtually everyone - East and West - now favours an early peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict by convening a U.N.-sponsored international conference. Gone is the time when the Soviet initiative on convening such a conference was hushed up or dismissed as a propaganda ploy, as an attempt by the U.S.S.R. to remind the world of its role in Middle East affairs. Today a conference is seen as the only chance of arriving at a mutually acceptable peaceful compromise.

It is only in the U.S. and Israel that claims are still made that an active international effort to search for a settlement in the Middle East would do more harm than good because in the final count the parties immediately involved in the conflict have to settle their disputes themselves and not hide behind the backs of the leading world powers. According to that line of thinking, the role of "outsiders" - if any - should be to try to bring the conflicting sides to the negotiating table and then tiptoe out of the conference room. On the face of it, this approach seems logical: it is a conflict between Arabs and Israel, so let them settle it for themselves, let them make mutual concessions, and agree on how Arabs and Jews should live together peacefully in the Middle East. And yet this attitude is merely an attempt to distort the true state of affairs. If it were valid then the Arabs and Israel would long have concluded a peace or at least made a serious attempt to advance in this direction. Egypt alone signed peace accord with Israel but it was Lebanon and the Palestinians who had to pay for it. After Camp David the situation in the Middle East became even more entangled.

The crux of the matter is that the peace process should be protected not only or mainly from attempts by "external forces" to impose ready solutions on the parties to the conflict - these can easily be rejected - so much as from attempts by one side to impose its own solutions on the other side when it happens at a given moment to be weaker. A just peace cannot be established at gunpoint and the threat: "Take what you are offered or else you'll get nothing." Even assuming that some kind of agreement could emerge from this approach, it would fail to bring genuine security to the region as it would sow the seeds of revenge, which sooner or later would sprout. The alignment of forces is a variable quantity and 150 million Arabs will not always be the weaker side in relations with Israel.

So, genuine settlement needs a fundamental basis and in this the international community can play a great and indispensable role. In the face of the whole world the sides must declare their adherence to principles which, in their totality and interconnection, can provide a basis for the peace process. An international conference would prevent the settlement process from being sidetracked from this principled basis and evaporating. These principles, while enshrined in numerous international resolutions and documents, are not something extraneous and opposed to the interests of the peoples and states in the Middle East. On the contrary, they reflect the basic aspirations of these peoples.

Israel declares that its main concern is to ensure its right to a peaceful and secure existence. It will not try to discover during negotiations whether it has a chance of being recognized by its Arab neighbours. Israel, like other countries, considers its right to peace and security to be inviolable and therefore not negotiable. The Arab states

When they pulled out of Kuneitra, Syria, the Israeli occupiers left most of the houses in ruins.

have lost some of their territories. They feel they are entitled to get them back: not to do so would mean recognizing Israel's right to seize others' lands. Between them these two principles constitute a territories-for-peace formula, which can easily be derived from Resolution 242 of the U.N. Security Council adopted in November 1967.

There is, however, a third aspect to the problem, namely, the future of the Palestinian people. The Palestinians cannot envisage the peace process as a way to determine whether they are a fully fledged people who can decide their own future, or an inferior kind of people. Let me stress at this point that ensuring the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is just as important for the success of the settlement as the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces in exchange for peace.

U.S.S.R. - U.S.A.: at odds on every point?

It stands to reason that all problems of settlement cannot be resolved by a single diplomatic onslaught, no matter how broad and purposeful. Some issues have priority while others - equally, if not more important - could best be tackled once the priority issues are resolved. What matters is that the whole settlement package should not be broken up and that the general principles of establishing peace in the region should be clear from the outset.

The international community, an active and interested participant in the process of settlement, must assist not only in drawing up but in consolidating the peace formula by offering corresponding safeguards. The very fact of such safeguards would enable the conflicting sides, especially Israel, not to press so hard on the "security imperative" in dealing with territorial aspects of settlement. Moreover, the role of the international community in the settlement process stems from the largely nationalistic character of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which makes the search for direct compromise exceedingly difficult. Any concession by one side would inevitably be seen by its adherents as being little short of national treachery. The situation would be different if the sides had the opportunity not only to make concessions to each other but to address themselves to the general urgent need for peace and stability as highlighted by the involvement, in the peace process, of other states with a concerned and responsible attitude to normalizing the situation in the Middle East.

There is growing understanding in the world today that getting the Middle East settlement process off the ground is a common concern. There should be no attempts to link the prospect of peace in the region with the selfish task of ousting a rival from the Middle East and bolstering one's own position at the expense of others' interests. In this context, peace in the Middle East should be based, among other things, on the mutual respect of the United States and the Soviet Union for each other's interests. The U.S.S.R. has at least as many and probably more interests there than the Americans, if only because of the region's geographical proximity to Soviet territory. It would be wrong to say that the interests of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in the Middle East are diametrically opposed on every count. This writer is convinced that the two states stand only to gain from the establishment of peace and the elimination of this dangerous seat of tensions.

The Soviet call for collective efforts to prepare an international conference is a statement of readiness for honest partnership with the U.S., the West European countries, China and other interested parties in ensuring peace and security in the Middle East. Moscow has proposed cooperation through a preparatory committee involving the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. Moscow has also stated that it is ready to contribute to a peace treaty in the Middle East within the framework of safeguards involving, say, the five great powers or the Security Council as a whole.

Another important point not to be overlooked is that the Soviet Union does not intend to impose a rigid pattern of negotiation on the conference, let alone anticipate the outcome and the details of the final settlement. Likewise, there would seem to be little that is heretical about the idea of the phased establishment of peace in the region, specifically by way of a transitional period between the withdrawal of Israeli troops and the realization of the Palestinians' right to decide their national destiny. Incidentally, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has reaffirmed his consent to temporary U.N. control of Palestinian territories after the withdrawal of the Israeli troops. This idea is inherent in the proposals for a settlement put forward by the U.S.S.R. in July 1984.

However, what is important about these proposals and later Soviet initiatives is not the details but the clearly indicated goals of the settlement process: the establishment of a just and enduring peace. Detailed and businesslike discussions are of course necessary with all who really desire a peaceful settlement, and their ideas should be taken into account.

Shamir adamant, Peres cagey

But what of those who act, even if they do not always speak, as if they do not want peace. The Israeli leadership, for example, is vehemently opposed to any reference to the right of Palestinians to self-determination. It has declared again and again that it will never tolerate the creation of an independent Palestinian state and will not deal with the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people until the organization recognizes U.N. Resolution 242 and changes its active anti-Israeli stand. The same is by and large true of Washington's position. The Israeli government, at least the present ruling coalition, is unprepared to accept the territory in exchange for peace formula, let alone take part in an international conference. This means that Israel itself has yet to come to terms with Resolution 242.

When in office former U.S. President Carter repeatedly sought clarification from the then Israeli Prime Minister Begin as to whether Israel recognized that Resolution 242 covered the West Bank Jordan and the Gaza Strip, which it occupied. The invariable Israeli reply was: "We shall never be foreigners on the land of historic Israel." So the

A U.N. observation post in front of the Syrian Golan Heights occupied by the Israelis.

Photos by Evgeny Korshunov

Israelis are prepared to play the role of occupiers in annexed Arab territories. The same stand is taken by Shamir, the present Israeli head of government, who has succeeded Begin as the leader of the Likud bloc.

So far nothing illuminating has come from Shimon Peres, Shamir's political rival, chairman of the Labour Party and Israeli Foreign Minister. It is true that he has spoken in favour of a conference, but only as a smoke screen for separate negotiations with Jordan. Peres says that he would agree to Palestinian representatives, who are not members of the PLO, being included in the Jordanian delegation. I fo one am not sure whether Peres, who is trying to present his course as a "peaceful alternative" to the Shamir line, will be prepared to give up occupied Palestinian lands within the framework of a "territorial compromise." Perhaps he has in mind a purely "functional" compromise with Jordan, that is, a kind of Jordanian-Israeli condominium over a pseudo-autonomous Palestinian region, in which Israel would take care of security matters. Clearly such a deal would be an imposition on the Palestinians and would meet with their resistance. Nor would it square with the concept of a full and productive international conference, if only because it implies that the Palestinian question would be decided behind the Palestinians' backs.

Nevertheless, impartial observers of the Middle East situation should not ignore the fact that, unlike Shamir, Peres is aware of the need to make adjustments in Israeli policy. He evidently feels that reliance on militarism and endless intimidation of the Arabs with force consistently boomerangs against Israeli society, cripples it and saps its material and spiritual strength. Peres is manoeuvring, but he has to give houseroom to the idea of the conference as a means of advancing towards peace. And this to me is a further qualitative change.

There is not much to be said at this juncture about the U.S. position. It looks as if the U.S. has not yet decided whether in the wake of the Lebanon fiasco and Irangate, President Reagan should be assuming an active peace-making role in the Middle East. However, Washington is already speaking in terms of an "international conference." This is a significant change.

A qualitatively new factor is the dramatically more active West European stand on the Middle East. This change is not surprising. To some extent it is the reaction of the West European countries, who have a very considerable stake in the Middle East, to previous U.S. attempts to monopolize the process of settlement and establish a "pax Americana" in the region. Soviet stand on the conference does not coincide with that of the West Europeans, but dialogue is under way and becoming more and more constructive.

An end to the period of discord?

Of particular importance for the prospect of a settlement is the trend emerging in the Arab world towards less discord and feuding and greater efforts to reach a consensus on the issue of peace with Israel. Let us have no illusions: this trend has not yet gathered momentum. The inertia of the past is too great. There are, however, signs that the Arabs are in general more conscious of the need to break out of the vice of the "logic of confrontation." They feel they should pass on to younger generations not a rifle but something to build on in tackling the task of catching up socially and economically with the advanced states, and, more important still, weaken the elements of tension increasingly manifest in the internal structures of most Arab countries. This is imperative. The time of high oil prices is gone while the cost of modern arms is soaring.

For the first time in many years, attempts are being made in the Arab world to prepare for an Arab summit. The Arabs are becoming more active in seeking an end to the Iraq-Iran war, the other big drain on material resources, not to speak of the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. Unfortunately Iran's actions are not conducive to ending the war.

The success of the unification session of the Palestine National Council in Algeria last April was a welcome event in the Arab world. The crisis of political leadership in the Arab world in general had a direct effect on the leading bodies of the Palestinian movement which was virtually split. It also gave rise to tensions in Palestinian-Syrian relations, and these are unnatural and harmful for both sides. With the PLO split into rival factions, it was unclear who exactly is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Now, after the Algerian session, the situation in the Palestinians' ranks has markedly improved, although the PLO and Damascus still have to work hard fully to restore the Syrian-Palestinian interaction that is essential to achieve a just settlement in the Middle East.

Two views of Palestinian unity

To my mind, a single authoritative Palestine Liberation Organization capable of representing the Palestinian people at an international conference and negotiating mutually acceptable decisions on its behalf is an important factor for peace. Another viewpoint holds that the PLO has paid a price for the restoration of unity by abandoning its flexible position, and emphasizing its rejection of Resolution 242 and the creation of an independent Palestinian state. All this, it is argued, has damaged the PLO's chances of becoming actively involved in the peace process because, while it cannot pass through the doors to the conference room standing at its full height, in the wake of Algeria it no longer has the flexibility to slip through a chink in the door that could be opened to Palestinians. This belief is held in Israel and elsewhere.

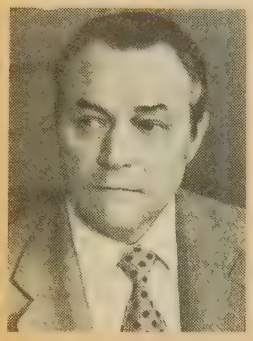
To this one can only reply: give up discriminating against Palestinians, recognize their natural and inalienable rights and only then judge how responsible and realistic the Palestinian leadership's behavior is. I for one have no doubt that the only reason the PLO is refusing to recognize Resolution 242 is the biassed way in which it is being interpreted in Israel, where it is seen only in terms of the recognition of Israel's right to peace and security The resolution, which answered to the concrete circumstances of the time (November 1967) refers to Palestinians as refugees. The PLO leadership has made it clear on more than one occasion that it would be ready to agree to the resolution if the Palestinians' right to self-determination as a people were recognized. Exactly how this right would be politically embodied - in the form of an independent state or as a confederation with neighbours - is a question for the Palestinians to decide.

To sum up, let me stress the idea that has repeatedly been expressed by Moscow: an early start must be made to the practical preparation of an international Middle East conference.

With the outlook for a Middle East settlement improving, some people in the Arab world have suggested that the conference could be called next autumn. I would like to hope that this is a possibility, but as a professional Middle East watcher I have a measure of scepticism about such an early deadline. ■

"A remarkable double standard is often to be found in your political assessments. One example. President Jose N. Duarte is displaying genuine good will in agreeing to talks with the leftist rebels. The Nicaraguan leader, Daniel Ortega, on the other hand, rejects outright the very idea of talks with the rebels in his country. This, however, does not prevent you from praising the position of the Sandinistas as sincere and constructive and condemning the leader of the Salvadorian democratic regime.

JOSE HERNANDEZ RIVEREA
Tegucigalpa, Honduras



Our staff writer ALEXANDER BARYSHEV replies:

An odious comparison

The picture painted above is inaccurate. Let us first examine the "good will" of Salvador's President Duarte. It was the fighting patriots who offered him the olive branch of peace. The groups united in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (RDF) have been suggesting talks since 1981. However it was only in May 1984, that Duarte accepted the proposal to start talks to end the bloodshed and resolve the conflict by political means. Can that be described as a display of "good will"? Unfortunately, no. He did not agree to the talks because things were going well for him. By that time the situation on the battlefield was not in his favour. The initiative was in the hands of the NLF and the RDF. The Contadora countries were actively urging dialogue. That too could not be disregarded. Subsequently it became clear that Duarte intended using the talks as a breathing space to try and split the opposition.

The first round of talks was held on October 15, 1984. What did each side bring to it? That is significant. The NLF and RDF suggested the formation of a government of national unity that would include representatives of all democratic circles. Duarte, for his part, proposed that the patriotic forces lay down their arms. True, he did offer an amnesty in exchange, and the possibility of taking part in elections.

But what would a unilateral laying down of arms mean for them? It would signify agreement to the physical extermination of the patriots by members of extreme right-wing groups and civilian-punitive bodies — not on the battlefield, but behind bars. That is how Duarte's "good will" appeared from the outset. But could one have expected anything else from him? Behind his back and the backs of his colleagues stood the U.S. administration. Before that meeting took place no one other than U.S. Secretary of State had issued instructions. He warned that there should be no sharing of power with the patriots, no deals, until they surrendered.

Subsequent contacts and meetings between the patriots and the authorities failed to advance a settlement an inch. Today it has become more evident than ever that Duarte - whose regime is only being kept afloat thanks to Washington's immense financial assistance - cannot move a step without the White House's consent, and that only when American interference in Salvador's internal affairs is stopped, will there be a chance of creating conditions in which talks could lead to the ending of the bloodshed.

Now the Sandinistas, whom Mr Rivera accuses of rejecting outright the very idea of talks with the "rebels." To begin with, the label "rebels" is inapplicable to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. This is to equate them with the fighters from the Salvador NLF and RDF. But that would be quite wrong. The National Liberation Front is an organization uniting left-wing military and political groupings waging an armed struggle. The RDF is a broad coalition including left-wing Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, representatives of the progressive intelligentsia, students, churchmen, democratically-minded military men and some business circles. Both patriotic fronts are the most popoular organizations in Salvador. They express the hopes and interests of the people. Not for nothing have they received such wide recognition in other countries. Numerous prestigious international forums have adopted resolutions in support of them. Their permanent official political-diplomatic offices function in more than 30 countries in Europe and Latin America.

As for the Nicaraguan contras (both military leaders of all ranks and soldiers), even the American press does not deny that they are mostly made up of former officers and men of the Somoza national guard - those responsible for the crimes committed against the people in the years of the Somoza dictatorship. And now they are CIA mercenaries. The CIA arms them, trains them, maintains camps for them, some of them in Honduras.

One more thing: there can be no comparison of the military and political situations in Salvador and Nicaragua. The Salvador patriots are a strong, well-organized force that deals effective blows at government military units, a force that is giving battle in all the country's 14 provinces, and firmly controls a quarter of the republic's territory. They oppose exploitation, oppression, and stand for social justice. Their opponents are the authorities - whose legality is, to put it mildly, doubtful. For Duarte took office with Washington's support after rigged elections in which a considerable section of the population did not take part.

The contras are separate groups, infiltrated into Nicaragua from camps in Honduras and making cowardly raids on civilians, sparing neither women, children, nor old people. The only recognition they can boast of is that of U.S. government institutions and such organizations as the World Anti-Commu-

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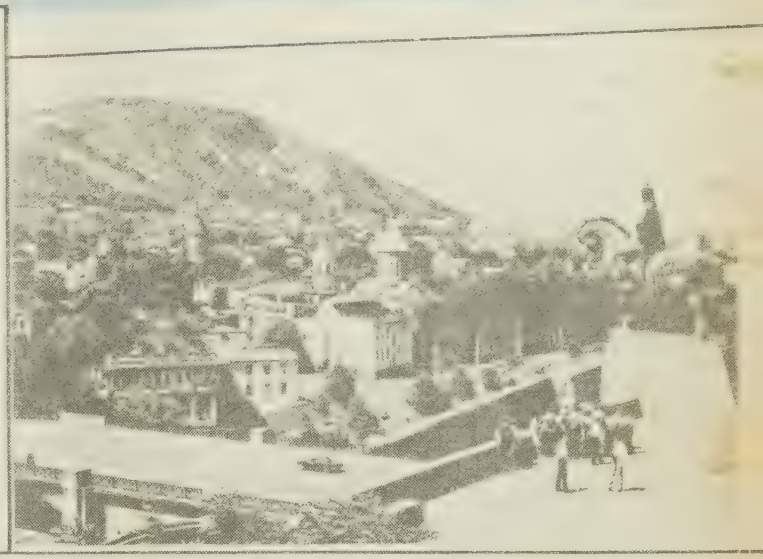

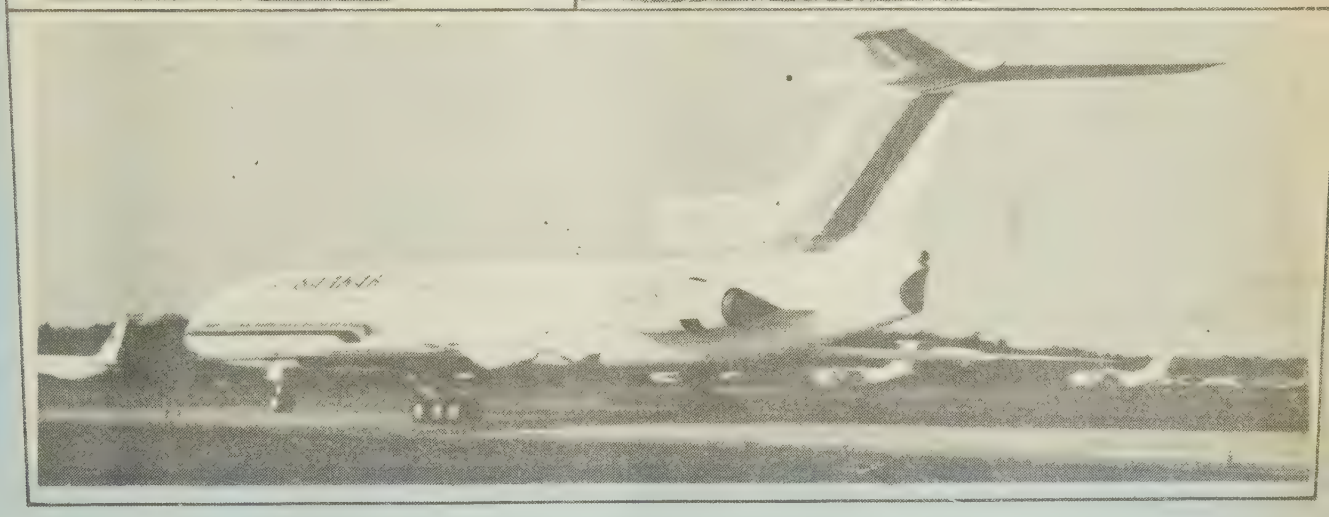

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Moscow—Split—Moscow flight schedule

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Saturday	Airport	Saturday

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■

The secrets of the "secret war"

David MacMichael's letter which we publish below is addressed to his fellow American citizens. It was forwarded to our office by one of our readers in the United States, Charles Rivers, with the inscription: "Read what this man is saying."

David MacMichael was a career officer in the U.S. Marine Corps for ten years. During the Korean war, as he himself writes, he led an infantry platoon, and was severely wounded. During the 1960s, after leaving the service and earning a doctorate in U.S. diplomatic history he worked at Stanford Research Institute and as a specialist for the Department of Defence studied counterinsurgency methods in Central America and Southeast Asia. From March 1981 to April 1983 he served with the Analytic Group of the National Intelligence Council - a group in the Central Intelligence Agency.

Here in part is what he writes:

For over two years, I analyzed arms traffic in Central America for the CIA. After leaving the Agency when my contract expired in April 1983, I made two investigatory trips to Nicaragua to double-check what I already knew. The Reagan administration was then trying to prove that the Nicaraguan government was running guns to the guerrillas in El Salvador. Few people in the U.S.A. then knew the real state of affairs. Employees of our government were laying explosive mines in Nicaragua's harbours, sabotaging its principal oil storage facilities, and training and financing a mercenary army to wage a terrorist war against the Nicaraguan people.

And they were doing this on the express orders of the President of the United States. There is no justification for the past and present support of the Nicaraguan contras by the United States.

The role of the CIA in Nicaragua was far more extensive than the White House was then willing to admit. Only now - after weeks of sensational headlines about the secret arms deal with Iran and the contras - are many Americans beginning to understand fully the depth of U.S. involvement in the sovereign affairs of Nicaragua.

Some time ago, the World Court in The Hague, Netherlands, by a vote of 14-1, found this so-called "secret war" against the people of Nicaragua to be a gross violation of international law. The court called for the United States to pay reparations to Nicaragua. I was among those who testified in that landmark case, and I am very pleased that the vote was so strong and the judgement so clear.

The "secret war" in Nicaragua was not just a violation of international law but of several U.S. statutes as well. One of these, called the Boland Amendment, was expressly passed by Congress to prohibit the Reagan administration from waging war against the Nicaraguan people. Now, of course, it's clear that the Reagan administration broke and continues to break other laws prohibiting gun-running across national borders. It never took into consideration the neutrality of nations. That is confirmed by the official investigations now underway in Washington.

But the "secret war" in Central America - and even the secret arms deal with Iran - are only the proverbial tip of the iceberg.

Much less well known are the facts of the tragic intervention of the U.S. government, the CIA in southern Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and virtually every other region of the Third World. In South Africa, for example, our government is playing a dangerous and hypocritical game. Despite lip service to the suffering of the black population, the United States remains committed to an active military alliance with the cruel apartheid regime. Together, the U.S. and South African governments are sponsoring a "secret war" in Angola, supplying arms, funds for training the rebels and intelligence information.

So-called "covert action" campaigns, both large and small, are underway all across the globe - in Cambodia, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, and many other places... "Covert action" encouraged by the U.S. government includes terrorism - what we so self-righteously claim our nation's worst enemy. Back-door wars of this sort, so-called "low-intensity conflicts" - will continue and even expand unless we manage to stop them.

The organization to which I belong - the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy - opposes the "secret wars" waged by the United States. It is doing everything it can to expose the dangerous, illegal and deceitful strategy that the United States seeks to implement throughout the world. The weight of our organization cannot but make itself felt on Capitol Hill. We want to mobilize the grassroot activities throughout the nation against the policy of the U.S. administration that seeks to impose its will on those who desire to follow an independent road.

DAVID MACMICHAEL
former CIA analyst
U.S.A.

A bonfire in the Opernplatz

Books blazing in Berlin, May 10, 1933. Among other volumes committed to the flames were verses by Heinrich Heine, who wrote: "Where books go up in flames, people are next to burn".
Photo from the album "German Chronicle, 1933-45" (G.D.R.)

"According to the newspaper Berliner Börsencourier, I fall into the category of authors on the **white** list of the literature of the new Germany, and all my writings, except the major one,'We are prisoners' ('Wir sind Gefangene'), are **recommended** reading. It appears that I am called upon to represent the spirit of the new Germany....What have I done to deserve such a disgrace?" Thus begins an open letter from Oskar Maria Graf, a German writer who left nazi Germany, published in the newspapers of a number of European capitals in 1933 "I have not deserved such dishonour! All my life and all my creative work give me the right to desire that my books be thrown instead into a fascist bonfire...."

The artist Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, whose work was duly appreciated only after the war, wrote in a private letter: "I am deeply shocked by what is going on in Germany; yet I take pride in the fact that the brown iconoclasts are destroying my canvases as well. It would be a disgrace if they spared me."

Let us try and imagine the atmosphere that prevailed in Berlin in 1933.

The sultry evening of May 10... The citizens were warned of what was going to happen in the Opernplatz beforehand. Storm troopers and students in lorries had made the rounds of the city libraries taking away banned literature. In a few years it would be impossible to find a banned book anywhere in the "new" Germany. School and college students in postwar Germany would raise their eyebrows on coming across the names of the great writers and artists they had never heard of... A total of 12,400 books by 149 authors were banned by the nazis, a vast collection of national and world literature.

Trucks with storm troopers and students had been a familiar sight ever since the red flag with the black swastika on a white background was raised in Berlin. What was their destination? A meeting somewhere "in defence of national culture," or the secret address of Communists who had gone underground, or a Jewish shop that they just felt like smashing up.

In the evening they gathered near the student club on Oranienburger Strasse--all those carried away by the idea of the spiritual emancipation of Germany, of ridding its culture of all that was alien to the German national spirit, of "base literature," of the materialism of foreigners incompatible with the idealism of "genuine Germans," of Marxism and moral degradation, and of the disparagement of their national history.They formed a column and, torches in hands, headed for the Opernplatz.

The first bundle of books went into the fire.

The flames engulfed the enemies of the

"Chicken of the sea" waxes aggressive

On May 17 and 21, the U.S. atomic-powered missile-carrying cruiser Arkansas violated the U.S.S.R.'s borders in the Avacha Bay area, Kamchatka Peninsula. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. remonstrated with the Americans about the incident.

There is no doubt that it was a provocation. The ultra-modern missile cruiser could not simply have been tossed into our territorial waters by the waves or the wind. You don't make the same mistake twice. The course had been set deliberately - and not for the first time, either.

Testifying before the Senate Armed Forces Commission some years ago, Admiral James D. Watkins, U.S. Chief of naval operations, admitted: "We talk about defensive but that is the national posture. Our feeling is that an aggressive defence... characterized by forward movement, early deployment of forces, **aggressiveness on the part of our ships** (my italics - **M.P.**) is the greatest deterrent that we can have."

Aggressiveness is called for at the highest level. U.S. Navy Secretary John Lehman, who proclaimed the "forward strategy" in 1981, demanded at the same time that American aircraft carriers enter "high-threat areas" off Soviet shores. In March 1983 President Reagan instructed the Navy to exercise closer to the Soviet Far Eastern border than ever.

In the Pacific, this precedent was interpreted as a carte blanche for provocations and game-playing. The American military engage in such "games" regularly, the most popular one being "Chicken of the Sea." For instance, a U.S. Navy frigate heads straight for a Soviet warship in international waters, swerving off the collision course at the last moment so that the two ships sideswipe each other; or an anti-submarine fleet starts "to stalk a Soviet submarine", or a captain brings his ship to within inches of an "enemy" one regardless of warnings. He who turns aside to avoid a collision and shuns provocative "stalking" is a "chicken".... There have been dozens of such incidents, according to the U.S. News and World Report.

The captain of the aircraft carrier Midway decided to play such a game during naval exercises in the spring of 1983. Seymour Hersh, the American journalist, reported that the captain had coordinated his first "move" with the U.S.

"new" Germany, thus cleansing the nation of the evil and opening the way for the growth of national might. They shouted approval each time they threw books into the fire.

Flinging a bundle, the organizer proclaimed:

--Against the class struggle and materialism! For national community and the idealistic way of life! I commit to the flames the works of Marx and Kautsky!

-- Against decadence and moral degradation! For discipline and morality in the family and the state! I commit to the flames the works of Heinrich Mann, Ernst Glaeser and Erich Kästner!

-- Against the distortion of our history and the disparagement of its great heroes! For reverence for our past! I commit to the flames the works of Emil Ludwig and Werner Hegeman!

-- Against anti-national journalism of the cosmpolitan-Jewish brand. For a responsible attitude to cooperation in the national upbuilding! I commit to the flames the works of Theodor Wolf and Georg Bernhard!

The wind scattered the leaves that escaped the fire around the square and swept the ashes under the feet of the people who stood watching in bewilderment. There was a strong smell of burning, but no nose, not even a good one, could yet discern the smell of burning flesh.

When the execution was in progress, Doctor Joseph Goebbels, the Berlin city party chief, arrived on the scene. He had been appointed minister of public education and propaganda and was actively involved in literary affairs. The minister was pleased, but realized that the burning of books would not solve the problem. Three years later he was to issue an order abolishing a whole literary genre: "As the year 1936 saw no significant improvement in literary criticism, I prohibit its further functioning as of today (November 27, 1936)."

On May 10, 1933, books were burned not only in Berlin, but also in Munich, Dresden and Frankfort on the Main. Who did it, apart from the storm troopers who were the organizers? Students inspired by their teachers Did they all support the new regime and approve of the National Socialist Labour Party programme? No. But they believed those who said it was the only way to preserve the German national identity, help Germans regain confidence in themselves, find a way out of the deep crisis, and take their rightful place in the world.

Who of those who stood gazing at the fire that devoured what was not intended for it could ever have thought Auschwitz possible? The nazi extermination system did not appear overnight. It emerged gradually, winning the sympathies of those who watched the barbed-wire fences being erected around the areas designated for bonfires. Along with the punitive apparatus, the world outlook was formed, the outlook of those who considered the extermination of other humans on grounds of race, creed and political convictions to be fair.

None of the people present on the Opernplatz realized that together with books their own lives were being destroyed. What started with the burning of books ended, for the opponents of the regime, with concentration-camp crematoria; those who applauded the storm troopers and students met their deaths in Stalingrad, while their families died in the flames of the fires started by Allied bombing in Hamburg and Dresden.

Some may think this causality exaggerated.

It was no fortuity that the nazis started by destroying books. What did they want to achieve? "To break the backbone of the nation by confiscating literature and offering in exchange literary slag," wrote Stephan Hermlin, a German writer of the older generation." It is literature that helps people find their bearings in life. They robbed the Germans of the two greatest philosophers and one of the greatest classical poets (Hermlin meant Marx, Engels, Heine - L.M.), in fact, of all modern literature, thereby breaking the bonds that linked them to the remaining human values."

A person who has no books to read loses his personality; he is easily manipulated and unable to resist evil.

What happened on May 10, 1933, was not an unprecedented event in human history. Both before and since the nazis, writers have been persecuted and their works destroyed. The destruction of books was inevitably a sign that it would be followed by the extermination of people. There is no guarantee that mankind will never see another bonfire of books.

LEONID MLECHIN

Naval command. In the dead of night, he ordered all electronic equipment to be turned off, broke away from the flotilla and headed for the Kuriles. The following morning the Midway lay south-east of Kamchatka. The idea was to arouse the Soviet military's anxiety. The next "move," Hersh wrote, came as a surprise even to the U.S. naval command. Several war planes took off from the decks of the Midway and another aircraft carrier, the Enterprise, and flew over Soviet territory.

The cruiser Arkansas became operational in October 1980. It carries eight Tomahawk cruise missiles and other modern nuclear and conventional weapons, plus two onboard planes. The cruiser is manned by a crew of 562.

Photo from Jane's Fighting Ships (London)

In March 1986 the cruiser Yorktown and a destroyer violated the Soviet Black Sea border, off the southern coast of the Crimea. There was nothing defiant or provocative about the incident, the U.S. Navy Department said in response to a Soviet protest. The New York Times reported shortly afterwards that both ships were fitted out with eavesdropping devices and other electronic equipment for collecting information about Soviet armed forces. It had been a spy game.

And now, the Arkansas has twice violated the Soviet border. The "chicken of the sea" is growing increasingly aggressive.

MIKHAIL PUTINKOVSKY

STATISTICS

A COUNTRY IN FIGURES

In 1986 Romania's per capita grain production amounted to 1.33 tons. In agriculture per-job power supply and efficiency are growing. Romanian farms operate a total of over 185,000 tractors and more than 65,000 combine harvesters, and the country's overall irrigated area covers nearly three million hectares. Over the years of people's power the proportion of peasants in the economically active population has dwindled from 80 to 30 per cent.

Romanian industry is making dynamic progress; it is responsible for over 60 per cent of the national income today, as against 30.8 per cent in 1938. The leading industries are power, mechanical engineering, metallurgical, chemical, petrochemical and woodworking. In its per capita output of electric energy, steel and chemicals the republic has either come close to or surpassed the average CMEA level. The development of electronics, microprocessor technology, industrial automation, fine mechanics and robotics is stimulated in every way, and new structural materials are being created.

The eighth five-year plan for social and economic development (1986-90) provides for higher growth rates than those registered in the seventh five-year-plan period. Industrial output is to grow by 43.3-49 per cent as against 21.6 per cent growth in 1981-85. By 1990 grain production is to be raised to 32.4 million tons (in 1985 the figure was 23 million). The construction of 750,000 flats will go a long way towards the solution of the housing problem.

In 1985 socialist countries accounted for 57 per cent of Romania's foreign trade turnover, with the U.S.S.R. taking the lead. More than 130 large industrial installations have been built in the country over the postwar years with Soviet technical assistance. Soviet-Romanian trade turnover, worth 18.6 billion rubles in 1981-85, will grow 70 per cent in the current five-year-plan period to come to 30 billion rubles. Our economic links are developing according to plan in conformity with the long-term programme of cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Romania for the period up to 2000.

JOINT VENTURES

SIEMENS AND OTHERS IN HUNGARY

More than 70 joint ventures involving firms from capitalist countries are currently doing business in Hungary. Procedures for such partnerships have been simplified and taxation terms also made more favourable to foreign companies, while ruling out any increase in the country's hard currency liabilities. In the main medium-size foreign firms embark on joint ventures, but some of the operations have been established by such giants as the West German Siemens, and European subsidiaries of the U.S. ITT and Citibank. Talks are under way on another 30 prospective joint businesses.

Foreign companies are now allowed to own a controlling interest in a partnership. Current regulations make it especially easy to launch a joint venture in industry, hotel construction and the service sector. The U.S. fast food chain McDonald's, which has restaurants in 44 countries, has now opened outlets in Hungary as well.

Joint businesses in such important areas as electronics, computer technology and the pharmaceutical industry are exempt from taxation on profits for the first five years. The Hungarian government has signed agreements on guarantees for investments with Belgium, the F.R.G. and France, and plans similar accords with Austria and Kuwait, and this has helped make foreign companies feel more secure.

Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG - the West German branch of ITT - and the Hungarian enterprise Skala-Koop have teamed up to manufacture colour television sets and video cassette recorders in Hungary. In 1987 they are to produce some 40,000 colour TV sets and 5,000 VCRs. The first Hungarian-Finnish enterprise has also been set up. It is a consultancy service offering advice on technical-economic matters and helping clients improve production efficiency.

The interests of joint ventures in the country are represented by a club formed at the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. Any foreign company willing to invest in such an operation can get advice there on the legal aspects involved.

FOREIGN TRADE

DEFYING BLOCKADE

Twenty-five years ago the U.S. government imposed an embargo on trade with Cuba, confident in the belief that most, if not all, of its allies would follow suit. However, the latest reports provide further evidence that their expectations have not been realized.

A joint commission for economic and industrial cooperation between Cuba and Italy has had its 5th session. At it Cuba advanced the idea of Italian involvement in several projects. Italian equipment has acquitted itself well in Cuba, including a rice husking plant in Pinar del Rio Province, which turns out 30 tons every day.

A Cuban-French agreement has been signed in Havana to step up bilateral cooperation in improving product quality, setting technical standards and exchanging technical data.

Cuba and Uruguay have concluded a package of five export-import deals. They provide for Cuba to sell scrap aluminium and zinc, tobacco and rum, while buying frozen chickens and tinned meat in return. Moreover, Uruguayans are showing interest in Cuban fertilizer, scrap copper, pleasure boats, veterinary medicines and oysters, while offering for their part to supply rubber and plant for the tobacco and ship-repairing industries.

Cuba and Ecuador have ratified a previously signed trade agreement.

SOCIAL SPHERE

YOUNG FAMILIES

A government decision in the German Democratic Republic, which took effect on May 1, has raised supplementary monthly childrens' allowances from 20 marks for a first child to 50 (100 marks equals 31 rubles, 25 kopecks) and from 20 marks for a second child to 100. Benefits for each subsequent child have now been raised from 100 marks to 150. It will cost the government 2,000 million marks annually to subsidize this important socio-political measure.

Concern for public health, support for young families and help in bringing up children figure prominently in the so-

cial policies of the first socialist state on German soil. Allocations for these purposes add up to more than five per cent of the national income.

A total of nearly 570,000 people, or over six per cent of the work force in the G.D.R., are employed in the medical and social security services. The number of physicians has reached 39,000 and that of dentists 12,000. This means that there is a physician for every 433 people and a dentist for every 1,400, making the G.D.R. one of the world leaders in this area.

ECONOMICS

DEVELOPING ALBANIA'S NORTH

The economic and social development of northern areas of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has entered a new phase, the G.D.R. magazine Horizont has reported. Since the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour called at its plenary meeting in March last year for volunteers to work in the north, more than 1,000 skilled Albanian workers, engineers and technicians have moved to those sparsely populated mountainous areas, once the most backward in the country.

The planned rapid industrialization will be based primarily on the region's rich mineral deposits. The district of Kukës already supplies 51 per cent of the nation's chromium, nickel and bauxite, while the Mirdita district is responsible for as many as 90 per cent of its gross copper production.

It is also planned to develop agriculture in the north at a faster pace to make the region fully self-sufficient in forage grain and such foodstuffs as bread, vegetables, fruits, milk and meat. Livestock farming is to increase its output significantly over the next few years.

The northern development effort calls for further improvements in the technical facilities available in the region as well as for the influx of more personnel. Twenty teams of young volunteers from all over the country have been busy building a railway between Milot and Klos via Resheni since April 1, 1986. It is one of the largest economic projects in Albania in the current five-year-plan period.

A Tatra-815 GTC truck setting out from Czechoslovakia on a two-year round-the-world trip. Its five-man crew is to test this specially equipped cross-country vehicle on the roads of 60 countries and five continents. The truck will cover a total distance of 120,000 kilometres. Barrandov film studio cameramen have been included in the crew to make a documentary serial about the trip.

TASS photo

FINANCES

FOREIGN DEBT

The newspaper Trybuna Ludu has reported that Poland has received an overall total of 46,900 million dollars in credits from Western countries over the past 15 years, including 44,400 million dollars borrowed before 1981.

A third of the money has been used to buy machines and equipment abroad. A total of 39,800 million dollars have already been paid out to the creditors. But as interest accrued, by the end of 1986 foreign liabilities still amounted to as much as 33,500 million dollars. This comes to 40 per cent of the national income and is five times as much as the annual export revenue.

Foreign debt is one of the main causes behind the financial difficulties facing Poland. It would be much easier for the country to balance the home market, limit inflation and effect the necessary changes in production if it did not have to settle the debt, which involves reducing the share of the national income intended for distribution. It is now imperative to increase exports at a rate such as to make earnings exceed the amount of money annually required to service the loan. Only then will it be possible to start thinking of making a substantial reduction in the basic debt.

Even factories with equipment largely worn out from long use will have to restrict imports of new machinery. Profits from exports will go in the first place for the purchase of raw and other materials and spare parts for production facilities.

"In these conditions," Trybuna Ludu said, "exports take indisputable priority, but grappling with the debt problem will make it difficult for us to achieve other goals such as checking inflation and balancing the market in the foreseeable future."

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

SUPPORTING "YOUNG TALENT"

A total of 55,000, or almost half of all high school and college students in Slovenia - industrially the most advanced constituent republic of Yugoslavia - are on scholarships from factories. This is how local industry seeks to meet its needs for qualified personnel.

Until recently such stipends were awarded primarily to outstanding students. But now it is no longer essential to have top marks in all subjects to qualify for a grant. Students with exceptional abilities are usually ahead of their peers only in the disciplines for which they have a special bent, while performing only averagely in the other courses they have to take.

The factory scholarship scheme aims to identify a student's aptitudes in good time, develop them and train replacements for veteran specialists.

New priorities

VYACHESLAV SYCHEV, Secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, answers questions from TASS correspondent Evgeny Verlin

Eighteen months have passed since CMEA adopted a Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress of the member countries. It has now gone into effect in all the five main fields of economic development: information science, auutomation of production, biotechnology, power engineering, and new structural materials.

What progress has been made? What obstacles have been encountered?

When journalists began comparing CMEA's comprehensive programme with the West European Eureka, they noticed that both documents named approximately the same areas as priorities ...

And politeness makes you hesitate from asking: who copied whom? Assuming that to be your question I would like to say this. Our comprehensive programme embraces the five leading fields in scientific and technological progress for the simple reason that it is a technical revolution in these five priority fields that will ensure rapid advancement along the whole front of scientific and technological progress. That has long been established. And in comparing our programme with Eureka it makes no sense to speculate about who discovered this order of priorities. Because science and technology the world over develop in accordance with the same laws. So it would have been surprising if our priority areas were different from those of Western Europe.

As for the chronology (although I attach no significance to it), our five priority areas were initially identified in the materials of the top-level economic conference of the CMEA countries published in June, 1984, when nobody had even heard of Eureka.

Could you define the programme's main objectives? What will the CMEA countries have achieved on its completion?

Briefly, the CMEA countries plan to have at least doubled labour productivity and substantially reduced power-intensity and the specific consumption of materials per unit of the national income by the year 2000. In other words, they propose by then to have provided the socialist community with a technical economic base that meets the requirement of the new century.

By that time the CMEA countries should have produced more than 1,500 new types of machine and developed about 500 progressive technological processes and more than 400 new materials, along with many other achievements.

Does that mean that the programme has been adopted once and for all and is not subject to alteration?

A planned economy presupposes flexibility. In the 13 years that lie ahead new areas in science and technology could develop, and internal and external factors in economic and social development could change. It would therefore be wrong to regard the programme as hard and fast. Inevitably amendments will be necessary. So in adopting the programme the CMEA countries agreed that two years before the start of the next five-year-plan period they would compile scientific forecasts for the development of the priority areas. I repeat: the implementation of the comprehensive programme involves not simply the implementation of agreements, treaties and contracts that have already been signed.It also means constant improvement in the management of research and experimental-design work, the introduction of progressive forms of cooperation....

There are sceptics who doubt not the ability of our scientists and technologists, but the very possibility of the synchronized functioning of the scientific, production, financial, currency, legal and other components of interaction between the CMEA countries.

As from December, 1985, when the programme was adopted, the CMEA countries have been setting up--at national levels--both the economic and legal conditions for increasing the efficiency of international scientific and technical cooperation. National mechanisms are being set up to ensure the operation of the comprehensive programme. Each country's obligations under the programme have been incorporated in its national economic plans for 1986-90 and will be finalized in the annual plans. Provisions have also been made for allocating the required financial, labour and material resources, for the construction of new production capacities and the modernization of existing ones in order to guarantee the planned output.

National sources of finance for work on the programme have also in the main been determined. In Hungary, for instance, the money will come from the centralized fund for technological development and from individual enterprises. In Poland, from centralized funds for research and experimental-design work. In the U.S.S.R. the organization responsible for work on one problem or another has the right to open an account in transferable rubles with the U.S.S.R. Vneshtorgbank (Foreign Trade Bank) to finance the necessary research and produce pilot samples of goods envisaged by the programme on the basis of contracts. And the targets set by the programme are reflected in one way or another in the bilateral agreements between the CMEA countries.

You haven't mentioned any shortcomings. What is the main difficulty?

Organizational imperfections in the existing machinery for the cooperation of the member countries, which affect the implementation of the plans they have outlined. There are quite a number of organizational obstacles. For instance, at the 41st session of CMEA, we agreed that in principle cooperation should be arranged through economic agreements and contracts. But at times this is delayed because of the absence of proper legal procedures.

Don't you feel that the organizational period is taking too long?

In the scale of the problems it embraces, the quality of the expected results, and its impact on the economic development of the CMEA countries, the comprehensive programme is unique--there has been nothing like it in the entire history of cooperation within the framework of CMEA. What I mean is that neither the community as a whole, nor the national organizations of its members have any experience in influencing so many different aspects of the social and economic spheres of public life. That

naturally inevitably affected the rate of progress. So we are behind in drawing up certain agreements on specialization and cooperation in production. First of all, it is necessary to move faster in establishing the overall requirements of the community in the different types of goods to be produced and determine the enterprises in each country that will make them.

The comprehensive programme envisages not merely joint scientific research. For each problem raised a result must be obtained that will substantially change the technological foundations of the national economies of our countries. It won't satisfy us at all to get an idea for a new product, albeit brilliant. We need more--an experimental sample, and agreement on cooperation in its production, the quantities in which such goods are to be produced depending on the real requirements of the member countries, and the organization of mass production and servicing facilities.

Is there any guarantee that the results of such work will meet all the requirements?

Leading scientists and specialists in our countries have made a detailed analysis of the programme for cooperation. They have found that many new types of machine and technology which are still on the drawing board already fail to correspond in design to projected world standards. The top organizations in all the countries participating in the comprehensive programme will have to work hard to ensure that this situation is remedied as soon as possible.

Given the volume of the tasks set by the comprehensive programme, and the complexity of the problems themselves, it has become abundantly clear that reaching agreement on the concrete details of scientific, technological and production cooperation at the level that we have become accustomed to over the years--which involved only ministries and departments--is a delaying factor. That practice cannot be continued. Only direct cooperation between those responsible for carrying out the job--organizations and enterprises--can arrange all the details of their joint operation. Direct ties are the only way--right up to the setting up of joint enterprises and scientific and technical organizations. Such ties are already developing, and their volume and the number of joint enterprises are growing rapidly, as the governments of our countries have taken important decisions that increase the rights of national economic bodies in foreign economic relations.

I should like to make another important point.The new forms of cooperation also require a new system for regulating certain currency and financial problems, improvements in the system of price-setting for jointly produced goods, and agreements on mutual deliveries.

Another difficulty in developing these forms of cooperation is, in my opinion, the lack of information available to national enterprises about possible partners in other countries of the community.That is why I consider it worthwhile to set up an information bank about enterprises interested in direct contacts with colleagues in other member countries.

What effect will the comprehensive programme for scientific and technical progress have on reducing the gap in the member countries' economic levels?

A very direct effect. The programme involves all CMEA countries, including the less developed ones--Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. The task of closing the gap in their economic development levels was rated by the top-level economic conference of the CMEA countries as being of prime importance. Apart from the long-standing system of providing credits on easy terms and other forms of economic assistance, the programme provides for preferential conditions for advancing the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia.

With help from their friends, these countries are already setting up modern industries and working towards the comprehensive balanced development of their national economies.Incidentally, an extremely interesting exhibition of Vietnam's electronic industry was staged recently at CMEA's headquarters. You know, it certainly was something to look at! The republic is making very good progress in this field.

The top-level economic conference of the CMEA countries reaffirmed its intention to expand ties with those developed capitalist countries that are prepared to respond. How do these relations stand at present, and specifically what are the relations between CMEA and the EEC?

With economic interdependence becoming more marked the world over, the need for greater international division of labour here in Europe is increasingly evident. The earliest possible establishment of official relations between the EEC and CMEA will do a great deal to promote this. Talks are already under way.

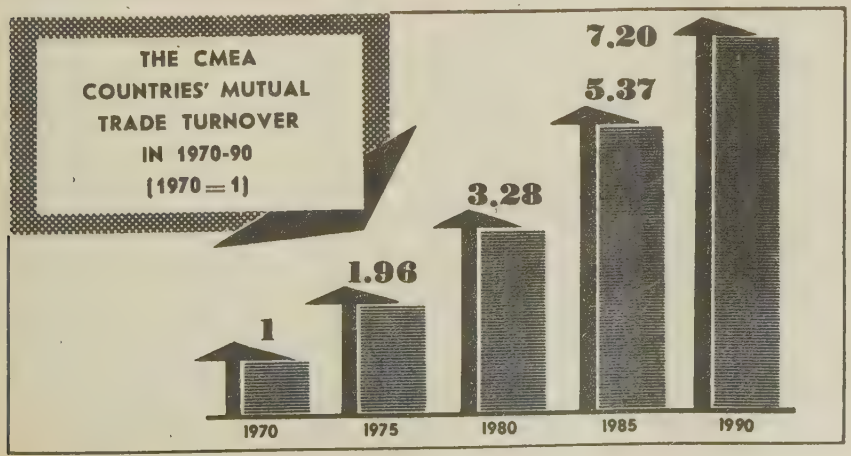
And what have been their results?

The draft of a document has been drawn up establishing official relations between the two biggest economic organizations. Both sides expressed readiness to sign it after it has been finally approved. I should like to point out that future joint ventures promise good prospects for European cooperation as a whole.

The restructuring of the foreign trade system in the CMEA countries also offers new opportunities. As I mentioned earlier, factories and production amalgamations in the CMEA countries are being given new rights in setting up production and trade ties with foreign partners and opening joint firms. Returning to your first question--the comparison of the comprehensive programme with similar Western programmes, as, for instance, Eureka. In itself the comparison indicates that cooperation in this field could prove effective and advantageous to both sides.

Does the proposed document on cooperation between CMEA and the EEC define any specific fields of cooperation?

No, they have not been stipulated. That leaves the sides free to make an exhaustive study of possible fields of cooperation and gives them a greater freedom of choice. The fields in which we are interested will naturally be the subjects of separate talks after official relations have been established. Mutually advantageous cooperation in production, science and technology, trade and the social sphere seems to be a distinct possibility. The task ahead is to apply in practice to European cooperation in general the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. ■



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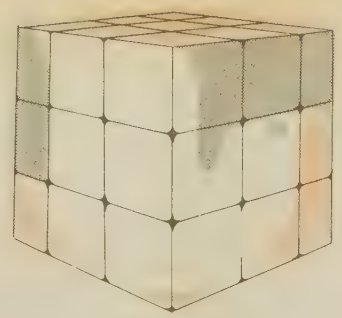
Youth's own peace clubs



Young people today are not particularly keen on politics. They are more interested in good salaries and entertainments. I first heard this in the course of a meeting with film directors at MAFILM Studios in Budapest.

I put it to my friends at the youth commission of the Hungarian Peace Council last May when a Soviet Peace Committee delegation attended the traditional Month of Peace and Friendship. I knew the Council was doing some good work to involve young people in its activities. I was very interested in knowing how they managed to do it.

Is it true that young people today are politically apathetic?

I got any number of answers to this question. Below I shall try to summarize them.

"This is probably true of some young people,"our Hungarian friends said. "They are not interested in political life and are not involved in it in the traditional sense, that is, in the ways to which most of us are accustomed and of which they are sceptical. But I think we have ourselves to blame for this. Our Young Communist League and public organizations have become so steeped in bureaucracy that some young people have been put off. Spontaneous youth associations have sprung up, including peace clubs. We noticed this phenomenon back in 1982. We became aware that young people wanted to do something real. A year later we set up a youth commission to coordinate these grassroots clubs. Our aim is not to control but to help them."

There is no lack of new initiative in these clubs, of which there are already roughly sixty. A young journalist proposed publishing an anthology of peace poetry. He worked on a voluntary basis in his leisure time. With the help of the Peace Council we managed to enlist the services of printers, who brought out our collection free of charge. Recently, instead of the usual rally, they held a festival of anti-war films proposed by one of the clubs.

Istvan Fodor, Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council, thinks involving young people is one of the Council's main tasks.

"Some of the most successful events our young people hold involve people of the older generation. We cannot draw an artificial distinction between ourselves and young people.We belong to the same society."

Here is a sampling of what I heard at the youth commission:

Youth leaders hould abandond their former attitude whereby only they have correct political ideas with which to fashion youth. Our task is to encourage young people to think, from the multitude of ideas to select the most important ones and build on them to create something new."

Pal Kocsis is leader of one of the earliest youth peace clubs. The club's history has been stormy.

"We call ourselves 4-6-0," he says. The first world war lasted four years, the second, six years. The next war will last only an instant.

"In 1982 a group of students and intellectuals initiated studies into the possibility of achieving peace on earth. We called ourselves 'Dialogue'. We went to the Peace Council. They received us courteously and suggested that if we wanted to contribute to the struggle for peace we should put some money in the Hungarian Peace Council's bank account. The message was clear: leave all other matters to us. So we had to shift for ourselves. In 1983 the group promoted the idea that saving civilization takes priority over ideological differences. We met with no understanding. Differences arose between ourselves and the Peace Council. This, of course, led to some ill-considered steps on our part, particularly in the area of international exchanges.Some of us were inclined to believe that the two superpowers were 'equally responsible' for the arms race. We were branded as dissidents. 'Dialogue' was disbanded. However, many of us managed to find a common language with the Peace Council because we felt that the struggle for the survival of mankind was too important to be drowned in differences in approaching this problem. Soon our club assumed its present form. We conduct independent research. We get a hearing. Some things we say are accepted. In the end, truth is born of discussion. The last few years have seen a lot of changes in this country and in the Soviet Union. We are truly inspired by the unprecedented initiatives coming from Moscow."

Talking to Hungarian friends, I recalled a remark I heard from a young American during a recent trip to the U.S.: young people in socialist societies are infantile, as they don't have to fight for survival--they have everything going for them.

I thought he had a point. But my meetings in Hungary and, indeed, developments in my own country, have since convinced me that things are not all that simple. Of course, there are some young people who don't care about anything and are content to live off society as they have been doing since childhood. But they are far outnumbered by young people who seek an outlet for their ideas and abilities and try to assert themselves in different ways. Socialism offers them the possibility of realizing their potential. When processes that thwart the development of the individual appear in a socialist society, the society itself generates the antidote to them.

One circumstance is having a destructive effect on the moral climate the world over. It is the existence of nuclear weapons. It seems to provide some people with an excuse for living only in the present and being indifferent to what is happening around them. The only remedy, as far as young people are concerned, is to allow them to take part in the search for ways of achieving a nuclear-free and secure world.

Peace begins at home, in the family. This is what we heard from people who had gathered on Lake Balaton for an unusual festival, a Family Peace Weekend. They had sports contests. An improvized exhibition of children's drawings "How I See the World" was set up nearby. Janos Czingraber, one of the organizers of the Weekend, showed me a poster prepared by the Hungarian Peace Council: a Rubik cube with the outlines of a dove on its sides.

You have to work very hard to get it to come out right.

GALINA SIDOROVA
our special correspondent
Budapest

Outlook for business bright

The American Company Alsimet entered the Soviet market in the mid-1950s, exporting steelmaking equipment and other products. Joseph H. Filner, 73, is one of America's most dynamic businessmen. He has long been attracted by some metallurgical processes developed in the U.S.S.R. He recently made his 66th visit to this country.

En route to the airport he shared his impressions of meetings with his Soviet counterparts.

Ideas on how to develop business between East and West are plentiful, especially with the new approach of the Soviet leadership. James Russell Lowell, a 19-th century American philosopher, poet and diplomat wrote: "There is no better ballast for keeping the mind steady on its keel, and saving it from all risk of crankiness, than business." This applies to American-Soviet relations. The Soviet government's decision to set up joint ventures is an excellent way of improving these relations.

How do you see the outlook for broader Soviet-American relations in the trade and economic fields?

I represent not only American but also European business interests. On the whole we feel that the basis for the development of trade between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is solid, with a tendency to expand in spite of serious political tensions caused, among other factors, by the new way in which the U.S. administration is interpreting the ABM treaty and the presence of a lobby within the administration that favours the early deployment of space weapons.

Nevertheless, you are optimistic?

Yes. Because the most fundamental objective factors that shape the short- and long-range goals of U.S. policy with regard to the U.S.S.R. indicate the possibility of positive results. I would name three such factors. First, there is growing anxiety in financial and industrial circles about the physical, political and economic dangers posed by a new destabilizing round of the arms race in outer space. Second, the administration is under heavy economic pressure to reduce the unprecedented trade and payments deficit. The prospect of business ties opening up with the U.S.S.R. and East European countries is in this context very attractive, especially after the sharp drop in the value of the U.S. dollar. Third, the programme for peace and the democratization of Soviet society put forward by General Secretary Gorbachev is winning the growing confidence of the general public in the U.S.

We remember numerous instances when the American side annulled contracts and the U.S. government violated other universally accepted norms of trade relations.

We are trying to persuade Soviet trade organizations to take the risk, as there is evidence that we have drawn lessons from past errors.

And because better trade relations mean better political relations we think both sides should take the risk for the sake of peace--especially now that a very important new factor has appeared in trade and economic relations with the U.S.S.R. I mean joint ventures.

What do you think of the idea of joint ventures with the U.S.S.R.?

American companies have already evinced great interest. As in any new enterprise, many questions and unforeseen problems will arise. But there is no doubt that joint ventures can benefit both sides. Foreign partners will gain access to the vast Soviet domestic market, be able to avail themselves of outlets for exports to third countries, see a sizable increase in exports to your country and hence will earn high profits. For the U.S.S.R. it means the influx of foreign capital, the rapid modernization of industry and the improvement of existing technology to international standards. By taking the interests of both sides into account, we will be able to streamline the procedure for signing contracts and combat red tape more effectively.

Of course, it is very important to overcome stereotypes. This is true of both sides. The partners in joint ventures will need a lot of enthusiasm and imagination if they are to operate successfully and yield positive results. Resistance to change and, if you like, lack of enthusiasm can come from big Western corporations as well. They are afraid that the creation of joint ventures with the U.S.S.R. and the emergence of the Soviet Union on world markets will offer them a challenge in an area which they have come to regard as their own. That is why I think medium-sized companies will be particularly interested in embarking on joint ventures with the U.S.S.R. as this will offer them new markets and strengthen their positions in competition with the giants in their own countries.

What would be your reply to those in the West who complain that the Russians are not to be trusted?

Businessmen who deal with the Soviet Union on a permanent basis are confident that there are no better or more reliable partners than the Soviets.

Interviewed by MIKHAIL BROOK

The Moscow centre for international trade and scientific-technical relations with foreign countries - a venue for businessmen.

Photo by V. Panov

"Let everyone do his utmost..."

Victor Rozov and Konstantin Shcherbakov discuss problems of the theatre, democracy—and more

Konstantin Shcherbakov. Changes for the better quickly come to be taken for granted. Remember how, as recently as eighteen months ago, we fretted about productions of such plays as "The Silver Wedding", "Speak Up", "The Dictatorship of Conscience" and braced ourselves to stand up for them against ill-disposed bureaucrats. Now these productions have won universal acclaim, and their social message, daring indeed, has become all in a day's work. The theatrical scene has undergone, and is still undergoing, substantial changes, and many companies have joined in the experiment. Today we are not so much happy to have lived to see this experiment as concerned as to whether it has been sufficiently thought-out and adequately prepared. What is your attitude to the experiment, and its artistic and technical concomitants?

Victor Rozov. My attitude to it is, as you know, a dual one. A great deal of useful work has been done and is still in progress. I mean especially that a drama company is now much freer to choose plays. Previously its repertoire was imposed on it, under varying degrees of pressure, by the Ministry of Culture, while now a company has a free hand in selecting the material that accords with its creative creed—at its own risk, naturally. True, one still hears complaints that officials concerned with the arts are grossly disregarding this or that company's preferences, as before. Incidentally, some time ago Kiev's Lyesya Ukrainka theatre was forbidden to present a completed production of my play "Woodgrouse's Nest", a very fine production, I think. The funny side of the situation is that Kiev television recently asked for my permission to stage the play.

K.S. So things have begun to move after all?

V.R. Let's say they are just beginning to.

K.S. While in Kiev a few months ago I actually witnessed certain Komsomol functionaries resolutely opposing the presentation of the play "Dictatorship of Conscience" by Mikhail Shatrov, which Les Tanyuk had staged at the Youth Theatre, and trying to suppress it by injunction. The newspaper Sovetskaya Kultura dwelt on that in detail. Now the production plays to full houses.

V.R. There is no denying the progress made, of course. As far as the companies' freedom to decide on what to include in their repertoires is concerned the situation today is quite different from what it was some two or three years ago. However, some other circumstances connected with the experiment worry me. Take self-financing, for instance. The theatre is in a state of neglect, it has all but lost its audiences, especially in the provinces. I think we should tread very carefully as regards the economic side of the experiment. I am sure that a large proportion of theatres just won't make it if left to shift for themselves. Like education, art needs support. I wouldn't be in a hurry to close a theatre down even if it can't make ends meet.

K.S. As a result, the theatre may become commercialized with its eye permanently on box-office returns.

V.R. This is one thing that doesn't worry me a bit. When I hear that a proposal to establish a theatre given over to "whodunit" plays has met with an indignant rebuff, I don't share this indignation and intolerance. Why not set up such a theatre? If it shows good detective stuff, I won't think it beneath me to go and see it. I would also welcome what I'd call a light entertainment company. Providing entertainment is not the only purpose of the theatre, of course, but it shouldn't be ignored. Let there be theatres of different kinds, forms, genres and trends, provided they are good theatres. To be really good, a company needs a strong talented leader who has something to say and knows how to say it.

K.S. Now we have touched on a delicate matter, something unpredictable. The leader can be appointed, of course, but unless you are a born leader, no decisions or resolutions will make you one.

V.R. That's right, but I wouldn't exaggerate, much less make any categorical statements about this situation being unpredictable. That the leadership of a theatre company would become still more of a problem was quite predictable.

K.S. Why do you think so?

V.R. It's all very simple really. In many cities, the directors in chief of the local theatres were under the strict control of the municipal authorities and specific officials concerned with the arts not altogether competent, for the most part. The directors were told what plays to stage, how many of them, and when. A truly creative person cannot work hemmed in by day-to-day regulations. As a result, people who had the talent and the personality to be directors in chief preferred to content themselves with stage direction than bow to arbitrary official opinion. I can understand them. If anyone looked over my shoulder and told me what my characters should do next, and how the story line should evolve, I wouldn't be able to write plays.

K.S. But there is also the problem of the company leader's status, functions and duties. He ought indeed to be free from petty tutelage on the part of arts departments. But what will his relations with the company, the artistic council and with the theatre's trade union organizations be like? I am asking this because heated debates are now in progress in many theatre companies which are trying—sometimes not without success—to "topple" their directors in chief and vote certain productions down... The trade union organizations and the artistic councils of the companies which have joined in the experiment now have a much greater role to play than before.

V.R. I'll permit myself to state in no uncertain terms here that neither the trade union organization, nor even the artistic council can stage a play. The artistic council should have a consultative say and leave it to the director in chief to pronounce the verdict on a play. He

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V.Rozov is a well-known Soviet playwright;

K.Shcherbakov, an art critic, is Editor-in-Chief of the Iskusstvo Kino magazine.

must share this right with a stage director. If the latter likes the play and already envisions it on stage, the final decision should rest with him--unless, of course, he abuses his position in pursuit of narrow selfish interests, something that always sticks out a mile. As for the practice of choosing the repertoire and "resolving" other artistic problems at general meetings by a show of hands, it's quite absurd and unproductive.

K.S. Not long ago, members of the Moscow Art Theatre company--a large number of them, into the bargain—tried to decide the theatre's future in that way...

V.R. I am happy that the Theatre Workers' Union and the Ministry of Culture have taken a responsible, sober and serious approach to this unhealthy situation, and that voting, even when it is heated, has not been taken as an irrefutable argument.I regard the decision that was taken as the best. It's marvellous that Oleg Yefremov has succeeded in dividing the company in two and cast in his lot with those who believe in him as a leader and want his artistic programme carried out.

K.S.I've heard this decision described as "inhumane" with regard to those left in the other, "non-Yefremov", camp.

V.R. What's "inhumane" about it? No one has been shown the door, no one's rights have been impinged on. The other part of the company has its permanent premises, draws regular salaries, and is expertly managed. What it has lacked so far is an artistic programme and, again, a leader...

A scene from the play "The Dictatorship of Conscience" staged at the Leninsky Komsomol Theatre.

TASS photo

K.S. Frankly, I can't understand the actors who, while reviling Yefremov, resolutely declared against the division of the company. One would expect them to welcome the prospect of parting with a director in chief they don't like. Some probably put the blessing of a carefree existence under the wing of the Moscow Art Theatre before the interests of art and their creative work. Left without those who have created the theatre's best productions of recent years, they must now prove themselves by their own art, their own creative endeavour.

V.R. Of course, the company which has stayed behind in the Tverskoi Boulevard building is made up of good actors, it is free to invite directors whom it finds interesting and who answer its needs. So let's wish it luck in striking out on its own.

K.S. Nevertheless, feelings ran really high. Even an outsider could sense that as he read the newspaper reports.

V.R. In general, some theatre companies are now tending to wash their dirty linen in public and resorting to foul play in their internal conflicts. I have already commented on that in Literaturnaya Gazeta. Here are a few further points I'd like to make. For a long time, factors that make for warped personalities have been fairly strongly pronounced in our country. A warped personality expresses itself in a warped way. Actors are emotional people, and in their case this deformity, if any, comes out in the most striking ways. Hence most of the absurdities that often emerge from our theatre companies' attempts to solve their problems.

K.S. In your Literaturnaya Gazeta article you used the word "mob", which jarred on many readers.

V.R. This only goes to show that my point went home. I'll explain whom I had in mind. There is the category of the privileged high-ranking few who take all their privileges and special creature comforts for granted and who are totally unmindful of their duty to those who have created their creature comforts for them. And there is another category: people who feel cheated, suffer from envy and bear a grudge against anyone who earns more and is faring better than they are in general. It is not my intention to offend either our leaders, God forbid, or the ordinary people; all I want to say is that people with warped minds do exist, unfortunately, in both categories. I draw no line of distinction between those in high places who embezzle public funds, and those who have made it their exhaustive practice to harass this or that artistic personality from day to day. These people have no moral background; in fact, they are amoral.

K.S. This may also be due to ill--breeding. Sometimes one hurts others' feelings unintentionally, through complete lack of tact.

V.R. This, too, plus deafness to the other side's views, and proneness to respond to arguments with abuse instead of counterarguments. It is extremely important to promote democracy in the country, of course. But it is no less important to teach people how to benefit spiritually from democracy, and how to measure up to it in every respect. This, I think, is a much more difficult task which will take longer to accomplish, but we needn't be discouraged by its being hard and long-term. Personally, I don't take the current unseemly developments on our theatrical scene too close to heart. We have to get over them.

K.S. Still, what about democracy in the theatre, Victor? At least in the context of your notions of the status of the director in chief? I think about it a lot myself but, to be frank, haven't yet arrived at a clear-cut conclusive answer to the question.

V.R. I think democracy in the theatre means, above all, democratic relations between the director in chief and his company. Let us take a broader view of things in general. The present democratization of our society is a tremendous historic achievement. But we must bear in mind that democracy is a complex phenomenon, and we have still to learn to live the democratic way. The specific forms it should take in various spheres of our life, the theatre included, ought to be worked out in free and constructive exchanges of opinion, without bickering. Being able to speak one's mind in the open is fine. But, I repeat, we must learn to listen. This is important. Democracy is nobody's monopoly, it is to be enjoyed by all.

K.S. We have discussed various circumstances and factors that block or promote democracy. What, in your opinion, is the main obstacle to democracy?

V.R. We have mentioned it only in passing, although it is worth dwelling upon in greater detail and more definite terms. This main obstacle is red tape in all its varieties and forms.

K.S. As it is becoming increasingly clear that reconstruction, democratization and openness are here to stay, the bureaucrats' resistance to them is growing.

V.R. I'd like to say a few words about the non-resisting bureaucrats, so to say, those who even profess to welcome innovations and experiments, and do not

work against them for fear of the consequences. Although they don't admit it, of course, they have actually adopted a wait-and-see policy. We have almost no experience of public self-government, and there will be a lot of confusion in all spheres at first, be it the theatre, the cinema, or whatever. When the worthy representatives of the public get utterly muddled or start to quarrel with one another, the bureaucrats reason, they will realize they can't do without us, and be for help...

K.S. It depends on us whether we need their help or not. I think that here we must also mention the administrators who seek to find a common language with artists today and do their utmost to expedite restructuring in the theatre and the cinema.

V.R. We certainly must. But first, let me mention another obstructing factor which is just as serious. I mean our inner fear which has been accumulating for decades—social fear, not biologic (the latter is essential for survival, and if you lack it you risk getting run over by a car). As for social fear... I am a stamp collector and often meet others who enjoy the hobby. At a recent get-together, I had a small talk with a charming and intelligent person, who suddenly took me by the elbow and whispered in my ear: "Is it true they are going to publish Rybakov's 'Children of the Arbat'? The things people say about it!" "Yes," I told him, "you're right except for one thing: they've already started printing it in the magazine Druzhba Narodov." "So I've heard," the man said in a whisper... Only think! I wouldn't be surprised to learn of whispered discussions of something in Pravda!

K.S. Well...

V.R. Before we get rid of our shameful anxiety about someone (who?) being displeased by our public activity and getting into someone's (whose?) bad books for it, all our efforts will hardly amount to anything. And, to conclude, a few words about each individual's responsibility for his work. Personal responsibility, I mean. With many people, this sense has become blunted—but without it we can't be expected to get anywhere. When I'm told that my leisure time pursuits are a matter of public concern, I disagree. In my leisure, I do what I think fit—sleep, read, fish, collect stamps, and what I do makes no difference to anyone. But as a writer, I deem it my civic and moral duty to everyone, and to my own children, to be aware of my responsibility.

In short, let us work. Let everyone do his utmost.

Film art has a great future ahead of it

At the recent Cannes festival Soviet films featured more prominently than ever - and fetched a rich crop of prizes into the bargain

When the film festival is held in Cannes there are so many people in the city that the proximity of the sea is only sensed early in the morning or after sunset.

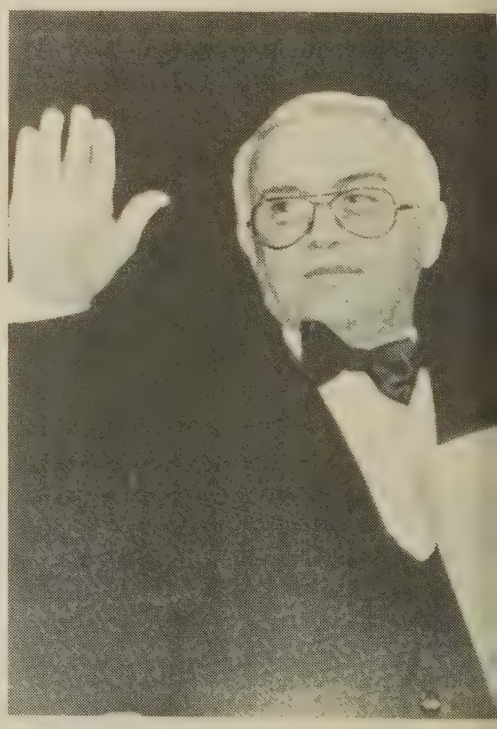
The current International Film Festival was the 40th. And its organizers did their utmost to make it a special occasion. French TV audiences got festival news for breakfast, lunch and dinner, so it stuck to their teeth like toffee. The menu of famous personalities was varied and brilliant. In fact there was so much publicity that one might have been forgiven for thinking that the films themselves were being pushed into the background. The fact that the arts fortunately survived this folly was thanks to the high standard of films selected.

Strictly speaking, the Cannes film festival is not just one festival, but a series of festivals with different programmes running parallel. But the main event is unquestionably the official programme which presents a couple of dozen films, both those entered for the competition and hors concours. This year the Soviet Union was represented by Tenghiz Abuladze's "Repentance," and the Soviet-Italian film (put forward by Italy) "Dark Eyes" produced by Nikita Mikhalkov. Other films chosen for the official programme were the latest films by Federico Fellini and Ettore Scola, Wim Wenders and Woody Allen, Paul Newman and the Taviani brothers, and many other famous directors. Ten winners of the Palme d'Or of previous years brought their latest work to the festival.

But there were also other programmes, like the Critics week, held for the 26th year in succession. It was as part of that programme that Konstantin Lopushanksy's "Dead Man's Letters" was shown. The programme Special view, held for the tenth time, included two films: Nana Dzhordzhadze's "Robinsonade" and Alexander Kaidanovsky's "An Ordinary Death." So broad is the framework of the festival that there was room also for children's films and opera-films, among them some by Soviet film directors.

Some people were clearly irked by the wide international recognition won by Soviet films and the high praise they received from critics and specialists. One Paris paper even went so far as to exclaim indignantly: "How long will we go on handing out prizes to official Soviet cinematography?"

However, it was not they who set the tone in Cannes, and the praise won by Tenghiz Abuladze's film was seen as well-deserved. I should like to add that "Repentance" walked off with two other prizes, including one of those most coveted by film directors - that of the International Federation of the Cinematographic Press. The paper L'Humanité described it as a beacon. Le Matin wrote, "The film is indisputably valuable, and in itself offers much food for thought," while the well-known French film critic Marcel Martin summed up views of the film "Repentance" as follows: "The film leaves a deep impression, but assessments of it as a film varied, as it upset traditional dramaturgic



Tenghiz Abuladze.

The special Grand Prix of the Jury was awarded to the film director Tenghiz Abuladze for "Repentance."

The Caméra d'Or went to the young director Nana Dzhordzhadze, co-author of the comedy "Robinsonade, or my English grandfather."

The prize for the best male role was awarded to the Italian actor Marcello Mastroianni, who played the lead in the Soviet-Italian film "Dark Eyes" directed by Nikita Mikhalkov.

The prize for the best woman's role went to the American film actress Barbara Hershey (in the film "Shy People" by Andrei Konchalovsky).

Nana Dzhordzhadze.

norms with its fusion of fantasy with realism."

The international jury (which included the first secretary of the Soviet Union of Cinematographers Elem Klimov) showed a preference for serious films, not commercially motivated films. The competition between the two trends was quite open in Cannes, since both were represented in the official programme, as a rule, by first-rank film directors. That was what guided the jury when they awarded the Palme d'Or to the French film "Under Satan's Sun" directed by Maurice Pialat, a controversial film, by no means perfect from the cinematographic point of view, difficult to assimilate, but posing profound philosophical problems in an original form.

Based on the book by Georges Bernanos, a French writer of the first half of this century, it tells the story of a modest village priest (his role in the film is played by the well-known French actor Gérard Depardieu) who challenged the forces of evil and sought to promote good and kindness, constantly finding in himself fresh energies for his struggle. But in the final count his efforts proved in vain.

The winner of the prize for best director, Wim Wenders of the F.R.G., who also won a prize in 1984, also represents this trend in world films. His new film, completed a few days before its Cannes première, is entitled "The Wings of Desire." The story is both simple and unusual. Two angels, invisible to most people, hover over Berlin watching the life of the city, the suffering and quests of its inhabitants. They are unemployed angels. In one interview the director of the film said: "People don't need them," and in another he gave this explanation for the film's idea: "I do not believe in angels. The angels are a metaphor for child that lives in all of us. This child is curious, open-hearted, and as yet unfamiliar with evil. I invented the angels so as to be able to look at the world from the standpoint of innocence."

There were many different aspects to the distinction between serious films and those made with a view to commercial success at the Cannes festival. Take the American films, for example. Although in Cannes there was (and this was to be expected) a wide choice of films that have in recent years brought American studios fabulous profits and an unenviable reputation, it was not they that were included in the official festival programme, but rather the films made on a tight budget without any special tricks or effects, but which showed that healthy

Marcello Mastroianni and Barbara Hershey.

trends are being revived in the American film art, trends that could bring back to the screen the problems of morality and humanism so much needed by audiences. As an example one could name Paul Newman's excellent film based on "The Glass Menagerie" by Tennessee Williams, with some inspired acting by Joanne Woodward.

This struggle between genuine art and artificial substitutes, the role of spiritual life today and in the future, was evident in the films shown in Cannes. Take, for example, Federico Fellini's brilliant film "The Interview," which had its premiere at the festival hors concours. In the magical style of which he alone is master, Fellini describes his personal destiny, the history of the cinema, and through them the multitude of past and present problems whose effect we feel to this day. The story is nothing special, Japanese journalists arrive in Cinecitta (the film studios near Rome) to interview Fellini. The maestro answers their questions, recalls the past. And that's all. "It's a rough draft, a joke," the author replies modestly. Yet you can't tear yourself away even for a second from this ironic, majestic and moving film. And when one of the characters - the action takes place during the shooting of a scene under a polyethylene awning - tells the others: "Dawn is breaking. That's when the Indians usually attack," from over the hills you see galloping horses with people in the saddle carrying... TV aerials, and Fellini's crew shoots back as in a real Western film, you begin to believe that a bright future really does lie ahead for the cinema.

Much the same message comes across from the moving poetical hors concours film "Good morning Babylonia" made by the Taviani brothers. Two brothers, heirs to the famous Italian architects, who from generation to generation built and restored the revered great architectural monuments, travel to Hollywood in the hope of finding jobs. As this is in pre-world war I days, Hollywood looks like a big rambling village. Overcoming all obstacles with the ingenuity inherited from their ancestors, they help to build the child of the new civilization - the cinema, a palace of celluloid, as the authors put it. The main message of the film is that human genius is eternal. It is developed in other films, that take up the same question - what is beautiful and eternal, and what is transient and will fade away?

NIKITA YERMAKOV
TASS correspondent for New Times
Cannes-Paris

TASS photos

TEST-TUBE GENIUS?

Incubators for foetuses, "surrogate" mothers... The excitement caused by these relatively recent medical sensations has not yet quite worn off.

The latest developments in the science of man are test-tube babies and the possibility of determining in the early stages of pregnancy whether the child will be a boy or a girl. What moral and ethical problems does this raise?

These are some of the subjects brought up by our correspondent Yuri Samoilov in his interview with Levon BADALYAN, President of the Association of Socialist Countries' Child Neurologists and Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences.

- A few years ago sperm bank to store semen from Nobel Prize winners was set up in California. The idea was that artificial insemination would help breed supermen with above-average intellects. Do you think this is possible in principle?

- It's utter nonsense. At a rough estimate, a person's ability depends only 25 per cent on heredity. The rest is a function of social factors, education in the widest sense of the word. If you look at the lives of the children in the donors' own families, few of them have matched the success of their fathers. And children born to mothers who have never seen their great "husbands" have even less chance of doing so.

- It has been established, hasn't it, that animals do inherit higher nervous activity. Clever dogs have clever puppies.

- I hate a vet's approach to man. Man has an intellect. This is what distinguishes him from animals. Human nature should not be tampered with. We know too little about it. There is an old saying that "marriages are made in heaven." Let them go on being made there.

- Does that mean you are against test-tube pregnancies?

- Far from it. Today one in every six couples is childless. They are often unhappy. And if there is a chance to help them we must do so.

- There exist centres for such operations. Why is this service developing so slowly in this country?

- Because of social hypocrisy and psychological barriers. Society as a whole is morally unprepared for it. Many are ashamed of having such operations and talk about them in whispers. But there are many women who would like to avail themselves of these services. They have to spend months on the waiting lists. And yet it's not a terribly complex operation. Fertilized ovum is implanted in the womb. That's all. This can easily be done in many clinics, provided ethical norms are strictly observed.

- With emancipation many women do not want the trouble of bearing their children. What do you think of the idea of infant incubators?

- Some twenty years ago an Italian scientist, Petrucci, tried to grow a human embryo in a test tube. It was a sensation. But the incubator idea did not work. The foetus died in a matter of weeks. Since then I don't think there have been any further attempts. The idea involves the creation of an artificial womb, as it were. There's nothing wrong in it in principle. After all, we do have artificial hearts and kidneys. I think research in this direction should be continued. A good many women cannot endure pregnancy for health reasons. But it is hard to say when an artificial womb will be created. At the moment the idea seems fantastic.

- In the West they now have living incubators, women who have agreed, for remuneration, to carry another woman's child. In an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta you described this practice as biological prostitution and "surrogate" mothers as brood hens. Do you deplore such women?

- I pity them. It's a disgrace to society when a woman has to rent her body for a fee. A woman has to carry the baby for nine months and then give it away to another person. Not every woman is capable of doing that. The phenomenon of "surrogate" motherhood threatens to destroy ethical norms that have built up over millennia. Carrying another woman's foetus is only justified, to my mind, between close relatives, like the transplant of a kidney to a sick sister, brother or child.

- One advantage of the test-tube procedure is that in such cases future parents are subjected to medical and biological examinations and their heredity is studied. Usually when young people are married ("in heaven") they don't give much thought to these matters. As a result they may sometimes have children with grave hereditary disorders. Wouldn't a law forbidding marriages without genetic testing of the partners go a long way towards improving the health of the human race?

- I don't think such a ban would help. A lot of sick children are born out of wedlock. I know a woman who has borne eight defective children by eight different men. She is an alcoholic and all her children are mentally deficient and are in children's homes. When they grow up there will be nothing to stop them having children of their own. So today we must increase people's awareness so that they themselves are interested in producing healthy offspring. We have medical and hereditary counselling centres, but there are not enough of them. Many are of a generalized character. But they should be differentiated according to the main medical specialities, because diagnosing hereditary diseases is a very difficult matter. In the existing general counselling centres, special tests are difficult if not impossible to carry out.

- Geneticists can now determine the sex of the unborn child during the early stages of pregnancy. Thus, there is a chance of regulating the numerical balance of the sexes. Wouldn't the spread of this phenomenon upset social structures?

- Nature is inherently harmonious and has seen to it that there are about the same number of males and females. However, opinion surveys have revealed that 65 per cent of families want to have boys. This means that if the method is uncontrolled, there would be twice as many boys as girls. As a result one in every two men would be a bachelor.

What to do? Break up other families or go without a partner? Neither is a particularly attractive prospect. I think people will have enough sense not to allow this to happen. However, the method may be very useful, say, in the prevention of hereditary disorders. Many of these afflict only boys. For example hemophilia is dangerous because with the disease it is possible to die of bleeding from a small knife wound. If it is found that a male embryo carries the gene for hemophilia, pregnancy is terminated. Other similar cases include Duchenne's disease, a grave form of muscular dystrophy. So genetic control of gender can be helpful in combatting gender-related hereditary illnesses.

- Advances in genetics cannot prevent the birth of children with grave forms of asphyxia (sustained interruption of respiration). Should we save all such babies? In a discussion with Professor Masland, President of the World Federation of Neurology, you have cited an example from Thomas Mann, who wrote that the great German poet Goethe was "bluish black when he was born" and that his son was normal colour but turned out to be light-minded and dissolute. You argued that all blue babies should be resuscitated. Do you still hold this view?

- The reason I said all blue babies should be resuscitated was that no accurate forecast can be made. My position was recently shaken by achievements in infantile neurology and new possibilities of diagnostics. In the past two or three years infantile neurology has been able to use such powerful techniques as three-dimensional ultrasonic and computer tomography of the brain, which offer a three-dimensional picture of the brain. We discovered that entire sections of the brain are missing in some newborn babies. Clearly such a baby is not viable. What's the point of resuscitating it?

The challenge today is not only to bring down infant mortality but also to raise a handicapped child to be a thinking and complete human being.

- Up till now the widespread view has been that thought is the prerogative of man and is inseparably linked with speech. What has your own research revealed?

- The view became widely current in the 1950s. I understand thinking as the brain's ability to reflect objective reality and adjust behavior to the changing situation. Together with the Brain Institute, we are studying the mental development of infants. We have run experiments to test their behavioral reactions. Encephalographs recorded how babies aged up to twelve months reacted to sound, light and play. We found that the brain is the most precise and accurate indicator of when the child is actively in touch with the surrounding world. I am convinced that the child can think long before it can talk. It could never learn to talk unless it were able to think first. Speech is the instrument of thought, its audial symbol. But speech and thought are not the same thing. Deaf mutes and even blind deaf mutes who have never heard a single sound can also think, and sometimes think very well. There are some truly talented people among deaf mutes. How they think is still unclear.

- Why is it then that a child who has not heard human speech before the age of five will never learn to speak? After all, its brain is better developed at ten than at two or three!

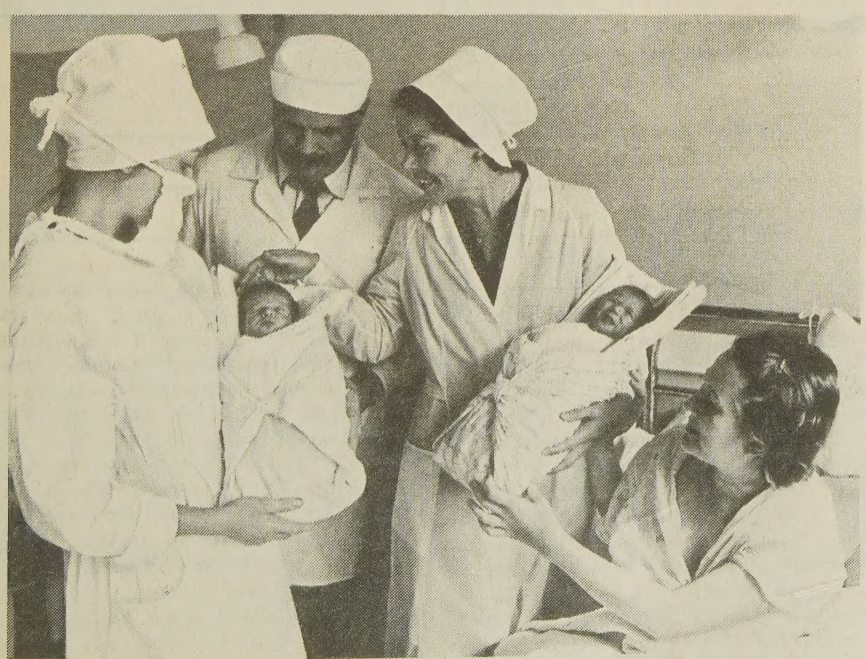
- Different parts of the brain are responsible for speech, identifying images, coordinating movements, etc. These centres develop according to a strict biological programme. It used to be thought that children who are poor readers or writers are lazy or have had their education neglected. But when we study the brains of such children on a computer tomograph we often see an amazing picture. We find organic pathology in precisely those areas in the left hemisphere which are responsible for speech and writing. These parts are insufficiently developed.

There is a remedy, however. The child's brain is versatile and other sections can compensate for the underdeveloped ones. We in this country have a network of special nursery homes, and state-financed boarding schools and sanatoriums in the countryside which try to eliminate or compensate for these defects. It is true that it is difficult to teach a child who hasn't heard human speech until the age of five to talk. This is because this centre of speech is only "open" for the establishment of complex linguistic relations in the early years. After that it is shut. The brain's biological programme follows its own regularities, which is clearly revealed by analyzing simpler functions than speech.Take, for example, the motor function. At six months, a baby can sit, at nine, stand holding onto something, and at twelve months it can walk. In those countries where women carry their children with them all the time the children begin to learn to walk earlier because the vestibular apparatus that controls equilibrium and the brain systems responsible for motor coordination develop more quickly. But the difference never exceeds a month or two.

- Children's motor activity is also genetically predetermined. Academician Evgeny Chazov, when I interviewed him two years ago, deplored the fact that children become like old people once they start going to school. They are so overloaded with assignments that they have no time to play and exercise. Has the situation changed in the schooling process since then? No. Children are still given excessive information loads. All too often teachers do not allow pupils to discharge their energies by playing in the intervals between classes.

- That's true. We are witnessing change in many areas of life. I hope the situation in our schools will take a dramatic turn for the better very soon and that teachers will heed the opinion of physicians.

The laboratory of early embryogenesis of the All-Union Mother and Child Health Protection Centre. These twin boys are artificial insemination babies.



The present school education system shares the practice, once common here, of putting quantity before quality. In the present setup, the child does not always have time to digest his knowledge. The school offers too much superfluous information which the child's brain simply cannot absorb. This gives rise to the "information overload." Unfortunately we have forgotten the simple truth that knowledge is necessary not just for its own sake but for useful activity. When a third-form pupil (aged 8-9) is forced to do a morphological analysis of words, this is violence against the child. This can only produce aversion to the native language. The element of play has been banished from the classroom. And yet children learn much better when at play.

- What specific remedies do you propose?

- We should cut and revise school curricula and the whole education system, taking into account the peculiarities of the child brain and its capacity for assimilating information. A joint commission of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences could be instrumental in this. So far it has been dragging its feet. It meets dutifully twide a year and produces reports, but there is little real progress.

Let me mention another paradox in our schools: the school doctor is mainly concerned with hygiene. True, in the early years of Soviet government, hygiene and sanitary considerations took priority. Now they are no longer a problem. Everything is now standardized: school buildings, desks and other school facilities. But the number of excitable children is steadily growing. Many children are shy. They have nervous breakdowns which can eventually result in inferiority complexes. If a teacher fails to create a friendly atmosphere, the child's mental discomfort is aggravated. So, along with hygiene specialists a school should have a psychoneurologist.

A considerate attitude to the schoolchild should be at the head of the teacher's professional code of ethics. The child's brain has tremendous capabilities, but these are not limitless. We should protect it from overload.

- And what about stress?

- We shouldn't be afraid of stress. It is part of a full life. Our children should not be raised in a hothouse. Only those can run the marathon race of life who can cope with heavy stress. Today's children will be citizens of the 21st century. We should bear this constantly in mind. ■

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

1917–1987

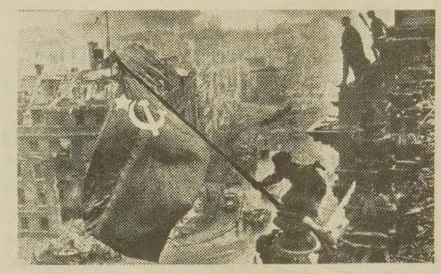
Dear readers!

The Editors of New Times invite you to take part in a quiz on the subject of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The quiz contains seven questions. You can send in your answers as soon as you are ready to do so, but they should arrive in Moscow not later than October 15.

The two top prizes are visits to the Soviet Union sponsored by our magazine. They will take in Moscow and a union republic chosen by the individual winner.

We shall also award 4 second, 8 third and 50 consolation prizes.



Question One. What was the first decree of the Soviet government? What did it proclaim and who was its author?

Question Two. When was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics created? Which were the first Soviet republics to join the Union? How many union republics, autonomous republics, autonomous regions and areas are there in the U.S.S.R.?

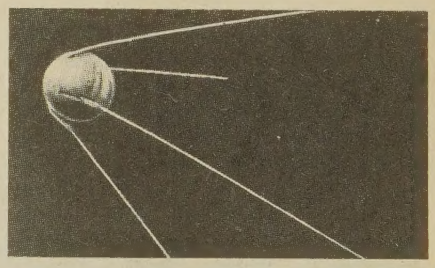
Question Three. What years were covered by the first five-year plan for the economic development of the U.S.S.R.? In how many years was it fulfilled?

Question Four. What episode from the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) is shown in this photograph? How many Soviet citizens died in the war?

Question Five. In what year was the first artificial earth satellite put into orbit? In what year did the first man go into space? What do you know about him? How many Soviet cosmonauts have been in space?

Question Six. What are the stages provided for in the programme for nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986?

Question Seven. What other Soviet peace initiatives of recent years do you know of?



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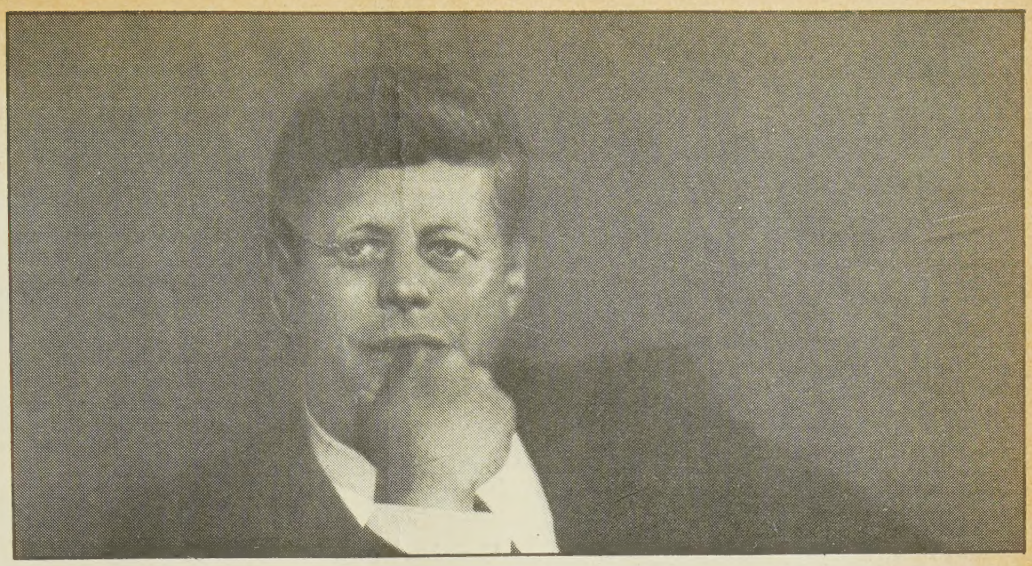
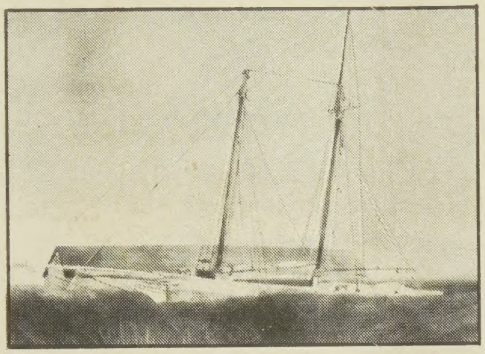
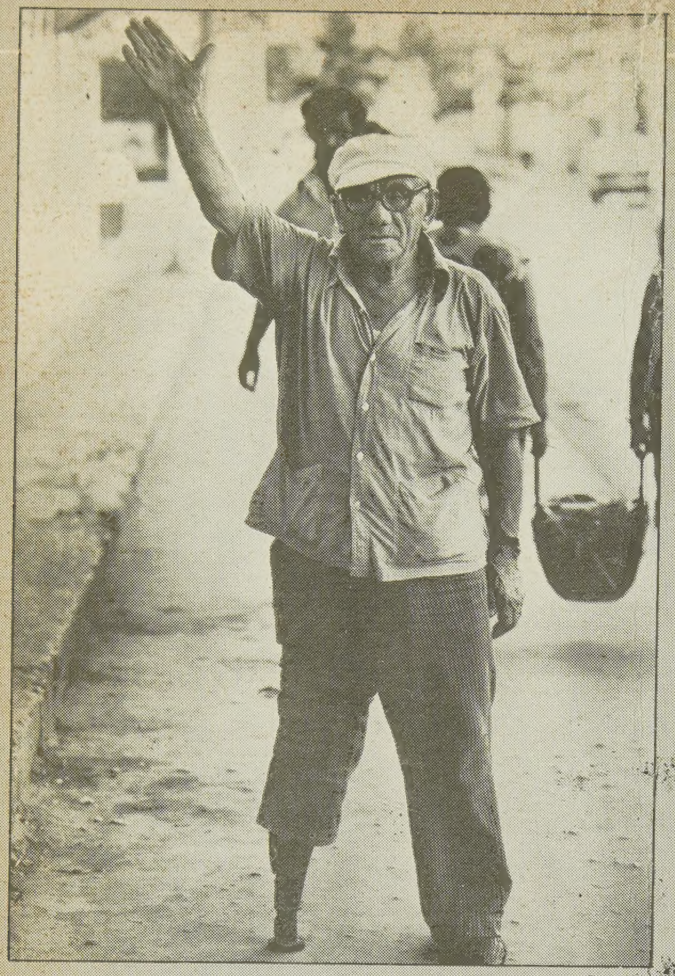


This portrait of John F. Kennedy (the 70th anniversary of whose birth occurs on May 29) is, perhaps, the finest canvas by James Wyeth, a representative of the third generation of a family which has left a significant mark on the history of American art. His grandfather Newell Convers Wyeth was a brilliant book illustrator; his "Roads to Vidalia" has lost none of its emotional impact (photo right). And this sailing boat is a detail from a picture by James's father, Andrew Wyeth, the popular American realist painter, an honorary member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Arts.



James Wyeth on the varnishing day of the Wyeth Exhibition in Moscow.

Photo by Konstantin Kokoshkin



No more wars!

A child is looking...

The Ukrainian folk artist Maria Primachenko with her paintings and her grandson.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Yuri ROST (U.S.S.R.)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ